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NEW MASSES

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BEHIND THE MINE CRISIS
by THE EDITORS

BERLIN TO BECK TO SIKORSKI
by JOHN STUART

I AM A SOLDIER'S WIFE
By ELLEN DAVIDSON

HOW YOU'LL PAY TAXES
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Let's keep our eyes on every move of the enemies –
New Masses needs $21,000 – or the light goes out.
I'm asking all my friends to rush funds to
save that light

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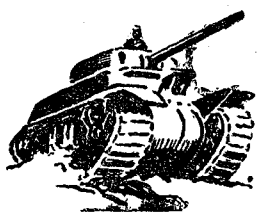
NM SPOTLIGHT

The Eve of Decision



THE fourth May Day of the war has come and gone, and to judge from the reports of celebrations in the democratic centers of the world there is a heightened sense of the imminence of decisive military struggles. It will take some time before Europe's underground can tell us how it spent this labor holiday. But it would not be far-fetched to surmise that the invisible armies carried on as usual, drawing strength and inspiration from the meetings held in London, Sydney, New York, Chungking, and Moscow—just as these mass gatherings were transfused with fresh spirit by the work of their comrades in the occupied countries.

With characteristic simplicity and toughness, Premier Stalin in his May 1 Order of the Day told the peoples of the coalition that the Red Army's winter offensive, the blows rained down over Europe by the Allied air forces, and the successful attacks in North Africa—all these "together have shaken the Hitlerite war machine to its foundations" and presage the establishment of a second front. Stalin's was a declaration replete with confidence in the military effectiveness of the Allies but at the same time warned against foolish optimism. "Hitlerite Germany and her armies are shaken and are undergoing a crisis but they are not yet defeated. It would be naive to suppose that the catastrophe would come of its own accord and as part of the present course of events." Stalin also gauged the decline of Nazi power by its propaganda for a negotiated peace in order to split the alliance. "But what sort of peace can be in question with the imperialist fascists who have flooded Europe with blood and covered her with gallows? Is it not clear that only the complete rout of the Hitlerite armies and the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany can bring Europe to peace?" Thus, Stalin warns again, as did President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill at Casablanca, that nothing short of the total annihilation of the European Axis will bring stability to the continent and defeat the adventures of the appeasers. It is clear, too, that the moment has come for that offensive in the West coordinated with Soviet operations in the East so that Hitler's impending doom becomes a reality before many more weeks have ticked away.

Immediate action was also the obvious desire of the tremendous and colorful crowd that packed Yankee Stadium in New York on Sunday, May 2. Speaker after speaker paid tribute to our allies and their fighting forces. Senator Pepper in particular noted that "if it had not been for the genius of Stalin and of the courage of the people of Russia in blocking tyranny with millions of their bodies and rivers of blood, freedom would have perished from the earth. Just as we express our gratitude to the people of France, who in the days of Lafayette helped preserve our independence, so later generations will remember with gratitude our debt to the people of Russia." The meeting was a gala occasion full of the spirit and zest of working men and women determined to see swift action in the defeat of Hitler and the enemies of unity. The stadium shook to the rafters in disapproval of John L. Lewis; thousands blasted the names of those who attempted to Red-bait the rally and thereby prevent its being held. The country's largest union town thunderously cheered for an immediate second front —cheers which we are sure reached Berlin to drive Adolf into another frenzy.

NEW MASSES had its own pre-May Day celebration in the form of a symposium around the subject "Can We Win the War Now?" Fifteen hundred New Yorkers turned out to hear the expert opinions of Capt. Sergei Kournakoff, Maj. George Fielding Eliot, Associated Press correspondent Henry Cassidy, and radio commentator Johannes Steel. Capt. Kournakoff, in one of the ablest presentations of the current military scene we have heard in a long time, proved with an array of statistics and facts that the allies could *now* crash through the northern coast of France and be confident of the outcome. He warned that there were many political obstacles blocking the way—especially the fear of Communism expressed in some official circles. Capt. Kournakoff quoted a Frenchman who recently remarked that the "great advantage which the Red Army has is that it does not fear Communism." Major Eliot attested to the fact that our general staff was offensive-minded and would give the orders for an invasion as soon as all the necessary preparations were completed. He too believed that the coast of France offered the best means of striking at the heart of the Axis. Delighting the audience with anecdotes about his stay in Moscow, correspondent Cassidy related the circumstances which brought forth two letters from Stalin in reply to his queries on the progress of the war and the second front. Mr. Cassidy was emphatic that the Russians deeply desired American friendship not only during the war but also during the peace to follow. Mr. Steel stressed that military victory for the Allies was inevitable but that it was imperative that they also win the peace.

Refugees Without Refuge

WE MUST confess a sense of bitter disappointment over the deliberation of the Anglo-American Conference on Refugee Problems. There was a good deal of fanfare preceding the meeting. Some had placed considerable hope in the outcome. But then cold, moldy minds began to operate and arranged for the conference to be held in Bermuda—out of reach of interested organizations and groups. Now it turns out that, except for some nebulous generalities, the conferees had no plans and, what's more, showed no initiative in developing any. To be sure they were quite right when they said that European Jewry, or the thousands of other victims of Nazi-ism, cannot be rescued short of a complete victory over Hitler. To be sure they were quite right when they said that it would be foolhardy to negotiate with Axis satellites for the release of Hitler's captives. But steps could have been taken to provide havens for refugees now in the neutral countries of Europe where they starve, can find no work, and where each day is as barren and stark as the day before.

We must open wide our gates to these refugees; we must exert our influence with Canada, Palestine, Latin America, and Great Britain to do likewise. There are refugees in North African concentration camps who were overjoyed when they heard that an American army of liberation had arrived; those anti-fascists are still in the concentration camps—let down and without hope unless a chorus of powerful voices rises up throughout the democratic nations demanding the end of their incarceration. This is a job which the international delegates to Bermuda failed to do. For all that it achieved the meeting might just as well not have been held—a meeting which was a crucial test of our humanity and concern for those suffering abroad. Only an immediate and large scale inva-

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sion of the continent will finally free Europe and the whole of its people. But surely much more could have been done—as President Murray of the CIO and the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs have suggested—than the very pleasant conversations that took place on an island in the Atlantic.

Beatrice Webb

In 1887 an energetic young woman got herself a job in the London sweatshops, saw tailors stitching their lives away over a pair of pants, and wrote a study of sweatshop conditions that blasted the pants off the bosses. That was the beginning of Beatrice Webb's contributions to rebuilding society. She and her husband, Sidney Webb, became so united in thought that one speaks of them as a single author, a single force in the history of English reform. And it was a considerable force; during her eighty-five years Beatrice Webb collaborated with her husband on a monumental history of trade unionism (which Lenin translated into Russian), a history of local government, a variety of social reforms each of which might have made a career for a lesser fighter, and finally an epochal report on Soviet Russia. *Soviet Communism—A New Civilization* was, for Western liberals, the first comprehensive account by one of their own kind of the progress of Russian socialism. After nearly twenty years of reaction-fostered mist and darkness, it cast new light upon the triumphs of the Soviet world. To this analysis of Soviet democracy may be traced some of progressive England's new understanding and appreciation of the Soviets.

Though much more than a liberal, Beatrice Webb did at one time in her life play an unreal and confusing role, in the activities of the Fabian Society. The Fabian doctrine was that patient education of the working class would, automatically, achieve socialism somewhere in the sweet bye-and-bye. In consequence, the position of the Webbs in the British Labor Party was for years in the right wing, achieving for Sidney Webb the title of Lord Passfield—which his wife refused to share.

In old age, however, the Webbs linked the past of socialism with its present. A lifetime of objective and painstaking research made it possible for them to see facts even when facts collided with their pet theories. Their report of what Marxian socialism had produced in Russia was itself an implicit rejection of the Fabian Socialism to which they devoted their early years. In 1942 the Webbs followed up their larger work with *The Truth About Soviet Russia*, an incisive analysis of Russian democracy. With this last book Beatrice Webb made clear, before her death, where she stood: in the forefront of the struggle against fascism and for mankind.

Wrong On All Counts

A small but venomous book called *America, Russia, and the Communist Party in the Postwar World*, by John L. Childs and George S. Counts, which professes to favor cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, has been hailed by the New York *Times* as a veritable battleflag of its own anti-Soviet crusade. In an editorial the *Times* cites with fervent approval the book's thesis that the condition for postwar collaboration between the two countries is the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States, which the newspaper describes as "an instrument of Russian policy." But this, the *Times* insists, is not enough. "What the authors say of the American Communist Party is true of the Communist Party in every land. . . . The chief effect of the activities of the Communist Party outside of Russia has been to pave the way for a fascist reaction." And the editorial specifically mentions Italy, Germany, France, and Spain.

One might, of course, compare the anti-fascism of a La Pasionara, whose party, we are told, "helped to weaken the Spanish republic," with the anti-fascism of the newspaper which sits in judgment on that party after having supported the embargo that strangled republican Spain. One might, too, compare the moral stature of the Communist martyr Gabriel Peri, whom the *Times*' own writer, P. J. Philip, in the magazine section of the April 11 issue chose as a symbol of the unconquerable French nation, with that of certain editorial writers whose affection for France was limited to the boots of Petain. But let these matters pass. What concerns us here is the relation between the *Times* evaluation of the Communist Parties and the statement of its editorial that "A genuine understanding among Russia, America, and Great Britain is essential for the future peace of the world." That is true, and millions of Americans believe it. But the *Times* is also asking these millions to believe that the Communist Parties are guilty of every crime and infamy, as guilty as Hitler and Goebbels say they are—in every country except Russia. What reason has anybody who accepts the *Times*-Childs-Counts thesis to make any such preposterous exception? Perhaps that's the point: under the guise of excepting Russia the *Times* intends that Russia be included. And since the charge against the American Communist Party is that it is "an instrument of Russian policy," what reason is there to believe that this policy is not fully as villainous as its alleged American instrument is said to be? Hence, why collaborate with Russia, now or in the future?

The *Times* estimate of the Communist Parties and of their relation to the USSR has nothing to do with fact. It is useless to point out to this grand poobah of American journalism that there was a Communist movement in the United States long before there was any in Russia and that some of its leaders were commissioned by President Lincoln during the Civil War. And after having for years falsely accused the Soviet government of interfering in American affairs, the *Times* now *demands* such interference in order to deny Americans their democratic right to belong to an American political party.

The position of the *Times* and of the Childs-Counts book can ultimately lead to only one practical result: complete adoption of the anti-Komintern line and a negotiated peace with those who are experts at saving the world from the "evils" the *Times* warns against.

Judge Lynch Pardons

Last October a mob forced its way into the prison at Laurel, Miss., seized Howard Wash, Negro, who had just been convicted by an all-white jury of murdering his employer, and lynched him. For once the Department of Justice acted, and five men, including the deputy jailer, were indicted under the federal civil liberties statute.

The trial was held the latter part of April before an all-white jury. One of the defendants, Allen Pryor, had confessed. Two others were identified by J. Press Reddock, sheriff of Jones County—a courageous and unprecedented act. The evidence was sufficient to convict a hundred times over. Said one of the defense counsels:

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"We intend to have in the South white supremacy until Gabriel blows his horn." Said another defense lawyer: "After the war between the states, when the South lay bleeding, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments were imposed upon us." The defendants were acquitted.

The acquittal helps Hitler and the Japs. It serves notice on 13,000,000 Negroes that even in time of war—war for the survival of America—lynching and discrimination go unpunished. Certainly, the mere fact that the lynchers were put on trial, the first time in four decades that this has happened in the South, was a step forward. Nevertheless, the murderers of Howard Wash are free. Their freedom, and our country's war need, argue for a federal anti-lynching law with teeth in it. And they argue for the passage of the anti-poll tax bill (HR 7) which will help win the South for democracy and decency. That bill, introduced by Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York and sponsored by a coalition of Republicans, Democrats, and Laborites, now needs the signatures of only twenty-five representatives to force it out of the cold storage of the House Judiciary Committee so that the House can vote on it. NEW MASSES readers ought to make sure that their representatives have signed.

Special Report

THE long awaited report of Mayor LaGuardia's special committee to investigate labor relations on the transit system has significance beyond the group of workers involved and beyond New York City. The report upholds the Transport Workers Union's criticism of the anti-labor attitude of the Board of Transportation, particularly its chairman, John T. Delaney, and makes recommendations that are in line with the union's proposals. The committee urges the Board of Transportation to confer at once with the TWU on the allocation of the $3,000,000 of emergency wage increases announced by Mayor La Guardia in March. It calls for genuine collective bargaining, advisory arbitration of wage disputes, the creation of a department of labor relations headed by a deputy transportation commissioner to handle grievances, automatic pay increases, and approves the principle of labor-management committees.

The Board of Transportation's face is saved to some extent by certain findings regarding questions of principle. The most important of these is that civil service employes do not have the right to strike. This is an academic question at the present time since the Transport Workers Union has pledged not to exercise the right of strike for the duration. As a principle, however, government agencies should not be exempt from the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, nor in ordinary times from the consequences of their failure to meet their employes half way. While the full implications of collective bargaining are thus denied by the Mayor's committee, for all practical purposes the union's right to collective bargaining is upheld and the Board of Transportation is criticized for refusing to recognize that right.

White Collar Manpower

PATRIOTISM is no man's monopoly; the desire to contribute at maximum for victory quickens the scientist in the laboratory and the teacher in the classroom, as well as their brothers at the fronts and at the points of production. The recent Institute on Problems of the War revealed the intense desire of white collar and professional groups to become centrally engaged in the war effort. They are dissatisfied with peripheral activity. Harry Grundfest, secretary of the American Association of Scientific Workers, quoted a letter from a leading medical scientist, "Out here, on the West Coast, my laboratory and, I know, many others wait from week to week and now from month to month to be mobilized for the war. . . . We think we have a right to expect that we be used, and we are becoming more and more impatient with this enforced inactivity." This scientist expresses the dissatisfaction that exists among his associates as well as others in the white collar and professional fields. They want "to be used fully." They chafe at the fact, recently revealed in a survey, that less than a quarter of all scientific and technical manpower in America is being utilized in the war effort. And nothing much has happened recently to indicate that that proportion has changed for the better; the picture differs little in other white collar and professional fields.

It is needless to labor the point. The reality is, for one example, that only a small part of the 100,000 chemists in the nation are harnessed to government research. America's army of teachers have indicated their desire to do more, much more; likewise the writers, the artists, the musicians. Not only is it a question of using more of them, but how best to use them. Their planned activity is a prerequisite for fullest service.

Another case in point is that of the medical professions; more than twenty percent of the 250,000 doctors, dentists, and veterinarians in America are in uniform. How best allocate those remaining so that civilian needs can be met?

For these reasons, the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, and the White Collar Fields to be held May 8-9, acquires vital significance. Such a gathering is long overdue. As the invitation by this body puts it: "The skills of all these groups are needed today in every phase of our national effort." They are exactly right when they say: "Keyed to the needs of the great offensives of the United Nations, the sciences, the arts, the professions, and the white collar fields can play a role that will save lives, hasten victory and enrich the peace."

It is encouraging to see this foregathering of earnest, patriotic Americans who have come to realize how much they have in common generally, and how much more in regard to the war. Scanning their program, one sees that they recognize the economic problem which plays a big part in enabling them to participate at maximum. They evidence, too, an earnest desire to utilize the nation's resources fully. It is good to see that Sen. H. M. Kilgore, chairman of the subcommittee on Technological Mobilization, will be on hand at the panel on science and technology. Many of the proposals he has made should be extremely helpful in solving the problems that must be posed at the conference. It is good to see, too, that white collar labor is recognized as an important part of the proceedings.

The groups and individuals listed as sponsors attest to the thoroughgoing desire to "get on with the war." The list is far too long and too comprehensive to publish here; but it reveals the widespread unity on this issue. The public has been invited to attend the panels which will take place at the Hotel Commodore; the only limitation is the building's capacity. For that reason the sponsors urge that reservations be made immediately through Olive Van Horn, executive secretary, National Wartime Conference, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. We are certain many of our readers—most of whom are professionals and white collar workers—will avail themselves of this chance to help solve one of America's most acute wartime problems.

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BEHIND THE MINE CRISIS

By The Editors

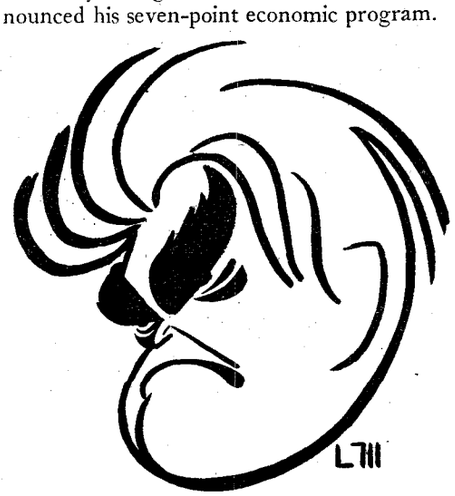
BY A HAIR'S BREADTH the country has escaped a major disaster. Coal production is continuing for at least another fifteen days and a tragic collision between more than 500,000 patriotic miners and their war government—a collision from which only the enemy would have profited—has been temporarily averted. It is now up to the government, which has taken over the mines, to circumvent both the selfish intransigence of the operators and the reckless disloyalty of John L. Lewis by negotiating a settlement that will meet the needs of the 500,000 soldiers of production who dig the nation's coal. The basis of such a settlement was proposed by government representatives some two weeks ago: a guaranteed six-day week the year round. This would mean more production and more pay. The proposal was accepted by the union, but rejected by the owners. Since the government by taking possession of the mines has subordinated private interest to national interest in the most fundamental fashion, nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of a fair agreement on the basis of the government's proposal.

But in the two weeks' breathing spell much more must be done than the signing of a new contract. Unless we understand why the country was brought to the brink of catastrophe and take measures to attack the problem at its roots, we shall be inviting new trouble elsewhere.

John L. Lewis has been forced to back down from his attempt to disrupt production in the midst of a war for national survival. He backed down because in the face of President Roosevelt's appeals to the patriotism of the coal miners and of the swift government action he knew he would be unable to hold the majority of members of the United Mine Workers to the destructive course he had set. But it is a mistake to view the mine controversy as the diabolical work of one man, John L. Lewis. This is the easiest and most myopic and unconstructive approach. Social phenomena are never mere creations of individual saints or devils. Lewis has played his part, has contributed vastly to confusing and misleading the miners and gladdening the heart of Goebbels (as have the bitter-enders among the coal operators), but he would have been powerless had not the inadequacies and injustices of our war economy built up the fires of resentment among the miners. The coal strike was more a product of runaway living costs than of any other single factor. And it does no good to lecture the miners on their patriotic duty to go hungry. When these men, who do some of the most dangerous and disagreeable and most necessary work in the country, are unable to buy the things they need to maintain themselves and their families at a minimum standard of health and decency, that state of affairs constitutes a threat to production and national morale which it is the patriotic duty of all of us to change.

WE CAN change it only by a changed approach to living costs and wages—to the war economy as a whole. By his recent statement opposing price-control Lewis demonstrated that he is allied with those reactionary interests that are largely responsible for the miners' plight and for the difficulties that the American people as a whole are encountering in buying food. Lewis has been working one side of the street while the congressional "farm bloc," representing the large landowners, have been working the other. And the administration has allowed the "farm bloc" and other business-as-usual forces to browbeat it into adopting the spineless excuse for a policy represented by OPA. From the beginning the OPA has operated on the fallacious theory that price-control and rationing were disagreeable medicine which had to be heavily diluted and spoon-fed to the American public. The reverse has been proved true. It is OPA's reluctance to offend rapacious private interests and its failure to develop an effective program of price-control and rationing with the participation of labor, consumer, church and civic groups, that have produced nation-wide dissatisfaction. And this dissatisfaction only required the manipulations of a clever demagogue to burst into flame in the mine controversy.

One year ago President Roosevelt announced his seven-point economic program.



Shortly after, with the adoption by the War Labor Board of the Little Steel formula, wages were stabilized at the cost-of-living level of May 1, 1942. But the cost of living itself was not stabilized at that level. Later all prices were supposed to have been frozen at the level of Sept. 15, 1942. In actuality the cost of food has continued to rise and black markets have flourished. On April 8 of this year President Roosevelt issued his hold-the-line order. But only one end of that line has been held: wages and jobs, with limited exceptions, have been practically frozen. But nothing has been done to fulfill the President's pledge that no further price increases will be permitted and that some prices will be rolled back to the Sept. 15, 1942, levels. Is it any wonder that John L. Lewis is able to raise hell? Is it any wonder that in the nation's largest union, the United Automobile Workers-CIO, whose members and leaders have done outstanding work in the war effort, factionalists like Walter Reuther are able to put over resolutions that give covert support to Lewis and oppose the method by which both wages and production can be raised, incentive pay?

IT IS this situation that has moved President Roosevelt's Labor Victory Committee, representing the AFL, the CIO, and the Railroad Brotherhoods to issue a statement declaring that "Unless the President's hold-the-line policy is firmly and forcefully implemented at once with specific, decisive, and comprehensive action, labor can no longer hold its acceptance of this policy to remain in effect." The mine conflict is a danger signal. An overhauling of policy and in some cases of personnel is urgently needed in the OPA, the War Manpower Commission, the War Labor Board, and the Office of Economic Stabilization. Prices must be rolled back, provision must be made for eliminating wage inequalities, and the distribution of the necessities of life must be assured for our production soldiers as well as for the soldiers on the battlefield. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that with each agency working independently and often at cross-purposes, it is impossible to achieve that balance in our war economy which will guarantee the maximum of production with the minimum of dislocation. Only over-all centralized planning and the inclusion of labor representatives in all the policy-making activities of these agencies can do the job. Let us act without delay to eliminate the causes of the near-disaster on the home front.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

IS THE TANK OUTDATED?

". . . no contribution can be made by those who hold to old ways of fighting, as they hold to old ways of living, because change seems alien and unpleasant and threatening to them. Change in technique, in tactics and strategy and supply and equipment, transport and training, and every aspect of warfare—change is the only law that persists throughout warfare.

"If we are to survive and be victorious, we must learn the ways of change."

So reads the closing paragraph of Tom Wintringham's latest book, *The Story of Weapons and Tactics* (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.25), subtitled "From Troy to Stalingrad." It is an extraordinary book, simple as ABC and correct as arithmetic, and should be read by everyone. However, this is not a review of the book. I simply brought it in as a basis for discussion of a question raised by Mr. Wintringham.

The author divides the history of weapons and their use, i.e. tactics, into six periods—three "armored" and three "unarmored." The division runs approximately as follows:

First unarmored period—prehistoric to the Battle of Platea in 479 B.C., after which the armored foot-soldier mattered most in warfare.

First armored period—from 479 B.C. to the Battle of Adrianople in 378 A.D. when the Roman legion as such was destroyed.

Second unarmored period—from 378 A.D. to Charlemagne's victory at Pavia in 774 when the iron clothing came back in the form of heavily armored knightly cavalry.

The second armored period lasted from Pavia to the Battle of Crecy (774-1346). At Crecy the Welsh longbow, after having been an auxiliary to armor, mastered armor itself, thus bringing about—

The third unarmored period, which lasted until the Battle of Cambrai in 1917 when the internal combustion engine dragged armor again onto the battlefield in the form of the tank. And thus began:

The third armored period, which to date has lasted a quarter of a century (1918-1943).

(It must be remarked in connection with this extended "loan" from Wintringham's new book that all these exact dates and places are but symbols of certain turning points and new trends—the author did not in the least envisage the history of weapons as consisting of "watertight" compartments. In this connection he says, immediately following the outline above: "If we leave out the fringes of the pattern, leave out the prehistoric and the present day, here are solid slices of the past averaging 500 years each.")

The first period lasted for unrecorded scores of thousands of years. The second lasted about 800 years; the third, 400; the fourth, 600; the fifth, 550. Is it possible that the sixth will have lasted only twenty-five years? This is a burning question today: on the answer depends the character of the decisive battles to come, maybe the length of the war and therefore the life of this and several future generations. I do not presume even to attempt to answer this question, which can be more simply stated thus: "Is the tank on the decline?" I will merely try to indicate certain trends pointing in that general direction.

The New York *Times* of April 21 published a dispatch by C. L. Sulzberger from Cairo, which gives us a theory obviously inspired by some British military experts, apparently mostly gunners. The gist of the idea is that the tank and the dive-bomber—the two chief offensive weapons that the Germans developed before the present conflict and on which they largely banked to win the "lightning war"—have now been "outclassed and virtually rendered useless." So, as these British see it, the main arm of the German offensive threat is "done for." The Germans, it is said in Cairo, are now falling behind the Allies not only in the armament race but in actual types and usage of general military equipment. The artillery piece (comparatively neglected by the Wehrmacht in this war) has completely gained the whip-hand over the tank, say the British experts, adding that the Red Army made "a similar discovery on the plains around Smolensk and later before Moscow. Its withering field fire shattered a tremendous force of armored divisions." And these experts conclude that "the tank has now been put more or less into the position that the cavalry was in the first world war when it came up against the machine gun." In other words, they seem to think that Moscow, Smolensk, Stalingrad, and El Alamein have reversed the trend which began at Cambrai, just as Crecy reversed the trend set at Pavia.

There is little doubt that the blitzkrieg, in its pure form of irresistible blows by massed tanks paced by dive-bombers, lies dead on the plains of the Soviet Union. The real blitz could not win against a first class opponent. So much is certain. The calendar is proof of this: "lightning" cannot last twenty-two months and remain lightning. However, it seems premature to claim that the tank is washed up and has been completely mastered by artillery.

True, the anti-tank defense, especially as developed by the Red Army, is catching up with the tank and that in itself is a sign of reversal of the trend. This development took place along two main lines—the means of anti-tank defense, and their widespread use among all troops.

Among the means of that defense, foremost are the anti-tank rifle and the "tank-buster" plane. Next are the new anti-tank guns which now are so powerful and so easily maneuverable that they take care of not only the modern tank's armor but its speed, which for a certain period was its principal protection.

The Soviet tank-busting plane "IL" is foremost in the world. Its mass development dates from Stalin's speech of Nov. 6, 1941. This plane is strongly armored. It shoots its 20-37mm guns and heavy MG's during a dive, at a distance of 200-800 yards.

The anti-tank rifle is especially efficient at distances which do not exceed 400 yards. It is very simply constructed and is characterized by a tremendous muzzle velocity which gives the projectile great penetrating power. However, this rifle requires a high degree of individual heroism on the part of the rifleman, who must calmly wait until he sees "the white of the tank's eyes." The ascendancy of the AA (anti-aircraft) gun is due to the fact that its power and caliber increased without detriment to mobility. The latest self-propelled guns is at present the supreme combination of fire and mobility (many such guns now are three-purpose ones—AT, AA, and field guns).

Aside from guns, rifles, and planes, anti-tank defense is featured by mines which blow up tanks or in any case create a sufficient threat to slow up and stop them in areas where they can be blasted by guns at a standstill. Then there are the AT grenade and incendiary bottle wielded by "grenadiers."

Other means of AT defense are all sorts of obstacles, built into the terrain and adapted to various special purposes.

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THE tank as an anti-tank weapon is in a class by itself. In a contest between tank and tank the issue is decided by numbers, weight, and the skill of the crews. This sort of battle is gradually disappearing, giving place to the battle of tanks vs. gun. While in the early days of the German-Soviet war tanks led the advance and were followed by infantry in trucks, tactics have now undergone a change. Infantry must prepare the way before the tanks go into action. Furthermore, the efficiency of the defense has grown so that tanks must be accompanied by infantry closely linked with them. This is how the tactics of having tommy-gunners sit on the tanks came into being.

All these factors seem to presage if not a decline of the tank then at least its relegation to the role of dominant, but *not decisive* weapon. It is doubtful that the future battles will be featured by great independent tank operations, such as Guderian's "purely tank" breakthrough along the Bryansk-Tula line in the fall of 1941. Just as the anti-tank defense spread among the mass of armies, so the tank is spreading into their mass. As for the tank's "partner," the dive-bomber, it has ceased to scare good troops and as a result has lost much of its effectiveness. The "longbowman" with the AA gun has grown to the stature of the "armored knight" in the tank. As a result the tempo of future operations will probably be considerably slowed.

Closely related to that development is another important tactical transformation: the Germans have practically given up their system of "hedgehogs," at least on the Eastern Front, and are turning to continuous defenses, with the strong points linked by regular trenches. This summer, it seems, it will be easier to follow operations on the map by means of red twine and pins than it has been since 1917.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

A LOOK AT PRODUCTION

Washington.

THE tendency lately in Washington has been to take war production somewhat for granted, with attention shifting to other pressing problems. Yet production remains the very center of the war effort, the precondition of a second front in Europe. Imperceptibly, without any dramatic signpost to mark the place and moment, the conversion phase of production has been passed and the nation has entered the war economy stage. Perhaps it is inevitable that with this achievement, the temptation arises to think of all problems as solved. Actually, however, such complacency can become a very real danger. So real, in fact, that both Undersecretary of War Robert P. Patterson, and the chief of the Army Service Forces, Gen. Brehon B. Somervell, warn against any assumption that the armed forces are receiving everything they need in such great quantities as almost to swamp them. "We are disturbed by the rumors of vast quantities of arms and ammunition being stored up here in America far in excess of our ability to transport these supplies overseas," General Somervell declared in his speech to the US Chamber of Commerce on April 27. "In point of fact, we are still not free from difficulties in providing essential cargo for the shipping which is available to us."

The truth is, production still falters, as it has all along the road since the first hesitant attempts were made to convert the nation's industrial plant. The cause for dislocations and delays, bottlenecks and disproportions, has always been the same—the failure to plan. This central flaw continues to disrupt efficiency, and to keep our economy teetering on the edge of disaster. As we approach ever more complete involvement in the war, as we near the hour when our armed forces will begin to fight on a substantial scale, insecurity on the production front becomes a more crucial danger. For once great numbers of American troops are locked in action, any faltering at home can prove devastatingly costly in lives, and menacing to the outcome of battles.

Of necessity, the impact of war demands fluidity of production. Arms must often be redesigned; needs for various types of equipment alter; the output of planes at any moment may become more imperative than the output of shells, or heavy tanks may be of greater use than light tanks. A certain amount of "cut-backs"—reduction of orders or changes in specifications—is admittedly to be expected. But the question remains whether every production difficulty can be explained away merely by blaming it on the unpredictable character of the war—as is being done today. The trade unions think not. They point out that the moment cut-backs are accompanied by a failure to demand maximum utilization of plant and equipment, something has gone wrong, something far more serious than adjustments to changing military needs.

TODAY unemployment mounts. Coming in the middle of a manpower crisis, unemployment obviously lessens efficiency and undermines morale. Plants equipped with intricate and specialized machinery suddenly discharge workers and furlough others—as has been the case at the naval ordnance plant in Canton, O., at the transformer plant in Pittsburgh, at the tank plant in Warren, O., at the war plants in New Jersey. Thereupon, these factories are neglected, with no attempt made to use the idle machinery and manpower in some other way. In the machine tool industry as a whole, with exports below lend-lease commitments, with the clamor for machine tools heard in every war-industry locality, there is at present only a two-thirds utilization of available equipment. One-half of the machine tool companies operate at only one-half of capacity. No cut-backs explain such lags.

Moreover, when the needs for anti-aircraft guns are met or exceeded, and it is decided to stop further intensive production of this type of ordnance, instead of transferring skilled workers to new jobs, these workers are usually sent home to wait until the particular plant reopens. No attempt is made to find new work for the factory. Work just stops. But as General Somervell and Secretary Patterson stressed, no superfluity of war material exists.

Bad attitudes develop. Leisurely, casual methods encourage the idea that "things will take care of themselves," that there is no need to exert any real effort to obtain better results. Suddenly such doubtful figures as Joseph Kennedy and Senator Taft bob up, worried about civilian supply, contending that civilians are sacrificing too much for the war, and since production is going so well, more thought should be given to consumer goods. In reality, they revive business-as-usual slogans—which have nothing to do with the prosecution of a total war. It is true that labor also advocates the organization of a civilian supply agency—but for diametrically opposed rea-

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sons. Labor desires to step up proper mobilization of manpower and resources for the war, a more scientific coordination of production so that fundamental civilian needs can be met without waste and without deflecting energy from the all-important task of turning out ever more materiel.

Production bottlenecks, the epidemic of cut-backs, the failure to use plant, equipment, and manpower at maximum efficiency, the rising incidence of unemployment —all these difficulties invariably trace back to the neglect of the need for centralized planning. Just as the War Manpower Commission's recent labor freeze order was obviously improvised—with results more harmful than beneficial—so also every other attempt to solve problems with stop-gap solutions and without any understanding of the over-all problem more often than not create new and more serious dislocations than those they seek to correct.

The Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill for an Office of War Mobilization has been introduced in Congress—and there it gathers dust, undisturbed and for all practical purposes forgotten. For the last three months, almost no progress has been made toward achieving planning.

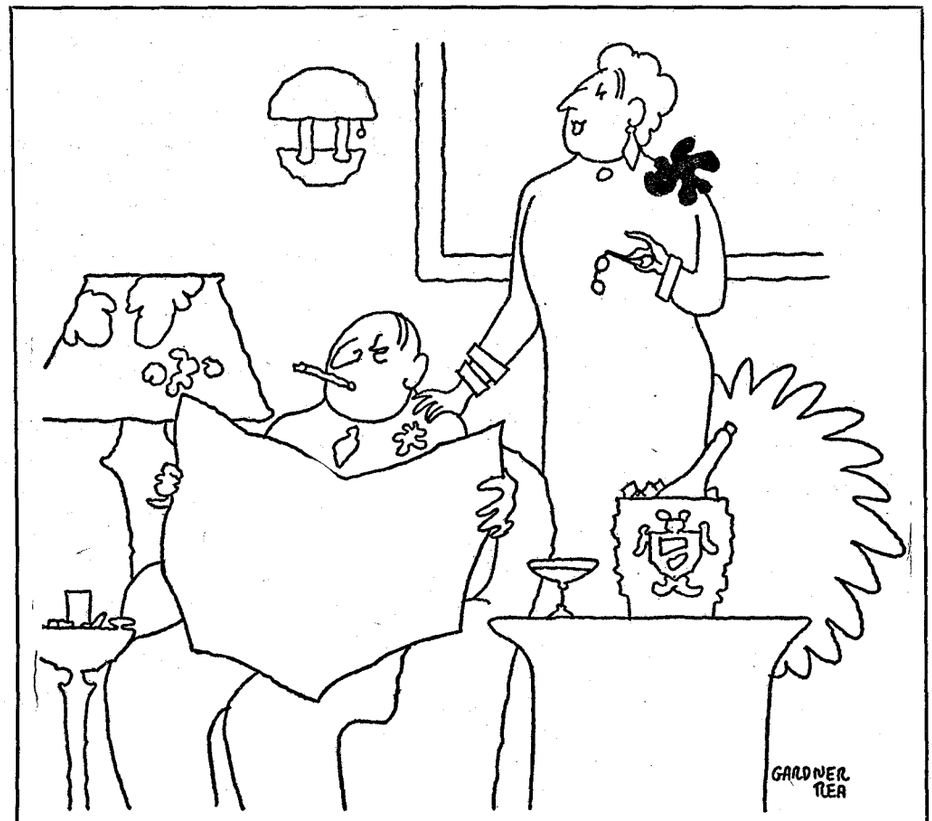
Organized labor shows an increasing uneasiness over this most serious failure. Labor spokesmen with whom I have talked admit that they see no immediate prospect of passing the war mobilization bill. But that does not mean labor throws up its hands and accepts defeat. To force planning, the unions are increasing pressure for the inclusion of their representatives in every war agency, locally, regionally, nationally. Without labor participation, there can be no planning. So far, labor has been accorded only token positions. True, the President has recognized labor's role by setting up the Labor Victory Committee. But the War Production Board, the Office of Price Administration, and similar agencies have refused to follow the President's leadership. Paul V. McNutt issues his sweeping freeze order without even consulting the unions. Prentiss Brown turns to advertising men and to special pleaders in industry for advice on price-control and rationing. Nowhere in government is labor granted an equal voice. In consequence, nowhere in government today has the principle of over-all planning won more than lip-service.

THE case of the maritime unions is typical. These unions offered a well-considered production plan to Adm. Emory Land of the War Shipping Administration. The suggestions dealt with the whole problem of increasing efficiency in loading and utilizing shipping—a central bottleneck of the war effort. Ways and means were outlined to eliminate delays in loading ships, wastage of shipping space, misuse of sorely needed ships, inefficient routing of ships, bunching of ships in ports not equipped to handle them. Admiral Land sneeringly rejected the plan, because it meant union participation with management and government in planning the methods to be used in the industry. By involving labor in the War Shipping Administration, Land feared that his own shameful inadequacy would be revealed; moreover, his commitments to a small group of operators who think in terms of profit and not in terms of an all-out war, caused Land to reject a plan which might hold down profits to reasonable levels while increasing the effectiveness of shipping. The crusty admiral, who once suggested that union organizers be shot at sunrise, repaid labor's "presumption" by launching an unnecessary and false investigation on the West Coast with the purpose of deliberately smearing longshore efficiency in that area (where efficiency is far higher than on any other waterfront) and slandering Harry Bridges. To preserve planlessness, to prevent labor cooperation, Admiral Land took recourse in a counter-attack of hot air and misrepresentation.

Planlessness is a powerful deterrent to a second front. The planned, centralized administration of our war economy projected in the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill must be realized. But to accomplish this, the first step is to bring labor's representatives into every war agency from top to bottom.

BECAUSE General Somervell also said that our allies will be provided with "their capital needs by the end of the year although our own Army will not be so equipped until late in 1944," the appeasers attempted to pervert his words in an effort to delay the European land offensive. They argue that our powerful army must stand idle until the last shoelace is provided the last recruit—although Gen. Somervell also asserted that adequate equipment is now on hand. Correctly, the armed forces urge ever greater supplies of arms and munitions—the more the better. But to await the day when we have "everything" a supply officer can possibly dream up for the "ideal" army, is to condemn our present well-trained and magnificently equipped army to eternal inaction.

I feel that General Somervell's remarks were unfortunate because they lacked decisive clarity of expression and therefore were open to misrepresentation. It remains obvious, however, that those who try to spread confusion by exploiting General Somervell's failure to express himself in precise terms, fear the opening of a second front above all things.



"Isn't it nice, Austin, that we shan't have to live on $25,000 a year after all? Though I suppose there must be literally SCORES of people who manage somehow."

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BALANCE SHEET

IF IN an unguarded moment of despair any of us have felt that this people's war against fascism is being turned into a traitor's war against the people, we have unwittingly served Hitler in that moment of darkness. For Hitler knows that disbelief is the source of surrender and doubt the beginning of defeat. It is *his* claim that our war is corrupt, that we are animated only by a crass desire to protect our profits and the status quo. It is not for us to take his definition, or any variation of it, nor to form our opinion of the war on the acts of his friends betraying the United Nations from positions within.

This war does not gain its nature from the powerful traitors who strive to sell it out but from the millions of people the world over who believe in it. When the going gets toughest, when traitors seem to prosper most, it is then above all that we must have within the rocklike conviction that this is irrevocably a people's war of national liberation and that it can only be won by fighting it as such—for if we, *the progressives*, ever accede to Hitler's interpretation and agree that our cause is somehow phony, then, in fact, we have lost the war.

This is not to say that we should not recognize that there are fifth columnists who do wish to change the nature of the war. This is not to advise, of course, that we should not expose those in the State Department and the press, in Congress and in industry who so hate the Soviet Union that they would gladly risk the defeat of their own country if they could achieve the defeat of the Soviet Union. I do not mean to suggest that we should not recognize, expose, and oppose those whose primary aim is not to win the war but to prevent democratic people's movements in Europe. I do mean to say that we can't effectively fight appeasers and defeatists unless we believe thoroughly, completely, and constantly in the justice of this war, that we can't thwart sell-outs, equivocations, and attacks on labor and the people if we believe that the very sell-outs we are opposing govern the nature of the war. The efforts of the appeasers and traitors are efforts of desperation, efforts to thwart a progressive trend that cannot long be halted and if we realize this we shall be better able to defeat these efforts.

Now more than ever we must see things whole. When the press accents disaster we must see the positive factor that germinates and grows in the very disaster described. If London crawls with appeasers in refugee governments and North Africa swarms with unrepentant Vichyites, we must remember in considering them the brave people of Europe who for four years have fought the mechanized might of fascism with little more than their bare hands. Which force in the last analysis will be the stronger? When we recall the shock of the Polish fascists openly siding with Hitler against their chief ally, let us also recall that in doing so they exposed themselves to the understanding and contempt of the American people. When we worry over trade union disunity we should also remember that ten years ago there were only 3,000,000 trade unionists and that now there are 12,000,000. When we are dismayed by such manifestations as *The Fifth Seal*, the fifth column, Social Democrats, Christian Fronters, and Hearst, let us also be cheered by Warner Brothers' great picture *Mission to Moscow*, which will reach millions with the truth while Social Democrats are confined to hundreds with lies; and let's remember Willkie's *One World*, Lillian Hellman's picture *Watch on the Rhine*, Fritz Lang's *Hangmen Also Die*, and Howard Fast's progressive novel *Citizen Paine*.

When we are appalled by Congress let us take comfort in the sound American people, willing and ready for progressive leadership, and when dismayed by the endless plots of appeasers the world around let us remember the millions, yes, the billions, of the anonymous people of the earth ready to give their lives that this war remain their war and therefore a positive chapter in the long fight for liberation.

WHEN betrayals mount and double-dealing multiplies it is more necessary than ever that we recall the realities of history. This war can never be as other wars because this war has in it a nation whose life and society is founded on more perfect principles of justice than have ever before appeared in history. Out of this fact and out of this socialist nation flows a current that influences and changes every separate action and product of this war. We may hear more voluminously of the plots of quislings but apart from these plots are the people, the silent waiting people who have caught a vision of justice and who, whatever the delays and disappointments, will attain the justice because only they are immortal—and therefore can outlast any sequence of quislings.

We must remember, too, the long drive of the people, a drive beginning three centuries ago, a march that has suffered detours and pauses, but a march that has never been halted.

We must remember that it is the people who are on the offensive, that this war brought by the fascists was brought in an effort to halt and turn back this march of three centuries. We must remember that the basic ingredient of our own history—"all men are created equal"—has a dynamic still pressing forward, still clamoring for fulfillment.

IN REMEMBERING these things we will fight the better. For national unity and world unity does not call for unity with traitors. We must ferret them out, ferret them out from Congress, from places high and low. And yet in remembering that the forces of history are on our side we must remember, too, that history changes, that it does not wait for the weak and disunited, and that while we have the foundation for victory the structure remains to be built.

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BERLIN TO BECK TO SIKORSKI

Closeup of an emigre "government" that represents only itself and its friends—the old Polish fascist-landlord clique with contacts in the Third Reich and other points west. By John Stuart.

WHAT words cannot accomplish, deeds must. Only through the rupture of relations with the Polish government could the Soviet Union have rebuffed the attempt to encroach on its sovereign rights and to isolate it from the democratic world. The move was not impulsive. For weeks, particularly since the turn of the year, the Soviet press had been warning the Sikorski clan. The hints were many, especially the one given in February by Alexander Korneichuk, distinguished Ukrainian playwright and now a member of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. I should say that it was more than a hint. It was a bristling declaration that if the Polish government persisted in claiming territories which did not belong to it, then the exalted general and his gilded coterie were heading for a first rate fiasco. Nor was it Korneichuk alone who spoke the mind of Soviet leadership. Also in February, there was the article by David Zaslavsky in *Pravda,* making it quite clear to foreign columnists, notably Constantine Brown of the Washington *Star,* that the USSR could not accept as a gift territories already joined to it. And finally there is Stalin's own definition of Soviet borders. In his Order of the Day on the occasion of the Red Army's twenty-fifth anniversary, he said: "We have begun the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine from German possession, but millions of Ukrainians still are languishing under the yoke of German enslavement. In Byelo-Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, in Moldavia, in Crimea, in Karelia, German invaders and their accomplices still hold sway."

In other words, for all the mumbo-jumbo to the contrary in the foreign press, the Soviet position as to its territories has been coherent, consistent, and devoid of all ambiguities. That position was also without secret reservation. Nor was it a mystery to the Allied governments unless some of them have suddenly developed a political conjunctivitis which keeps them from regularly following Soviet newspapers. It is a sad and ironical state of affairs that a few commentators rebuked Molotov for acting "hot-headedly" and without informing other governments of the impending break with the Poles. In this day and age political surprises are possible only for those who have not yet cast off their diapers. The steady deterioration of Soviet-Polish relations has been plain for all to see. The failure to warn the Poles of the consequences of their anti-Sovietism, their territorial greed, rests elsewhere—not in Moscow. One can only conclude that there were individuals in Washington and London who endorsed the Polish government's policies and therefore would do nothing about them. But that is another story to which I shall return later.

MOLOTOV's note to the Polish ambassador and the two articles published in *Izvestia* and *Pravda* immediately after tell us that the Polish government acted in collusion with the Nazis in accusing the Russians of the murder of Polish officers near Smolensk. There is no need to review all the details of this fantastic atrocity charge. The evidence is such that no one, unless he were a confirmed fascist or unless his brain were totally atrophied, could believe that the Soviet government was responsible for a Nazi crime. A communique from the Soviet Information Bureau made it absolutely clear that when Red troops were retreating from the Smolensk area in 1941, many Soviet citizens as well as former Polish war prisoners failed to escape. What happened to them was unknown. But it has become known now. They were slaughtered by the Nazis. Goebbels' "discovery" of documents, photographs, and letters allegedly preserved in the soil for almost two years, as well as the testimony of "witnesses," are ancient Gestapo methods. William Shirer, the author of *Berlin Diary,* has pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune* that the Nazis first broadcast that it was 3,000 Polish officers who were murdered but before the end of the broadcast the figure had been elevated to 10,000, and two days later to 12,000.

What matters most about this atrocity fable is that the Polish government was so eager to join with Dr. Goebbels in promoting it. One need not hunt through technical legal volumes to prove a case of collusion. The very glaring fact is that the Sikorski crew did not repudiate the Nazi libel—a repudiation which would have been almost instinctive on the part of any genuinely democratic government. In time of war an act of collusion with the enemy is any act propagating the enemy's ideas or giving him aid and comfort. The Poles in London did exactly that. From a moral viewpoint it was criminal obeisance to Hitler; it indicated that Goebbels could always find collaborators in and out of the Polish government who would act in concert with him.

There is, moreover, no reason to doubt that contact actually exists between the Polish government in London and the Nazis in Berlin. That contact would in large part operate through the Polish fascists who have infiltrated the Polish underground movement. Am I talking wildly without a basis of fact? The March issue of *Free World,* on whose editorial board are Sir Norman Angell, Walter Millis, Edgar A. Mowrer, among others, carries a revealing story under the heading "Fascists of the Polish Underground." These fascists "are the direct successors of the pro-fascist and pro-Nazi groups in existence [in Poland] before the war. At that time, there were two main trends in Polish fascism, expressed in the National-Radical Camp (ONR) which was ideologically related to the Endeks, the traditional Polish reactionary and anti-Semitic party founded by Roman Dmowski; and the Camp of the National Union (OZON) which was organized by the *Smigly-Sladowski-Beck* regime, and had its ideological background in the Pilsudski dictatorship. There were also some smaller fascist groups like Falanga, an imitation of Italian and Spanish models. *All these groups are now collaborating in spreading nationalist, pro-fascist propaganda.*" (Italics mine.)

"Their principles," continues the article in *Free World,* "are expressed in an illegal paper *Szaniec* (The Rampart). 'It is false that the democratic regimes contribute anything to the maintenance of civil liberties,' states a characteristic example of its propaganda. 'We are adversaries of democracy and liberalism. . . .' "

This testimony is of first rate importance. For the majority of those who make up the Sikorski Cabinet and the Polish National Council are still followers of the notorious Col. Joseph Beck and Smigly-Rydz who sold Poland down the river and were the organizers of the fascist OZON, as the quotation above shows. "A journalist who was the press agent of Col. Joseph Beck, exponent of Poland's pro-German policy, is actually in charge of the review, *Free Poland,*" writes Pertinax in the New York *Times* of April 28. "The Beck faction is in the ascendancy. . . . Colonel Beck is reported to be living in Bucharest and is in constant touch with his henchmen, who are at work everywhere. Six months ago he was said to have offered Adolf Hitler to constitute a Polish government of his own, but that suggestion was turned down by Herr Hitler."

The present Foreign Minister of the Polish government is Count Edward Raczynski, an old friend of Beck who had appointed him ambassador to London when Beck was in charge of the foreign office. Sikorski himself is a member of the National Democrats which the *Political Handbook of the World* (1943) describes as "nationalistic, anti-Semitic." Sikorski was appointed premier by Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, who had large financial interests in

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what was formerly eastern Poland. Raczkiewicz was made president of the government by the former president of Poland, Moscicki, who resigned shortly after the Germans invaded the country. The present president will long be remembered by Polish peasants for his brutal violation of their civil rights. Vice-Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk represents the Polish landlords in the cabinet. One could go on endlessly describing Polish officials whose outlook and practices were inspired by the Pilsudski and Beck type of Polish fascism. The point to be made is that among this unsavory crew there are undoubtedly those who maintain contact with fascists in Poland who in turn have been dealing with the Nazis. *Mikhailovich in Yugoslavia is not the only example of relations with the German and Italian invaders.* And it is not hard to see what Molotov meant when he said in his note that the Polish government's campaign against the Soviet Union "leaves no doubt that between the enemies of the Allies, Hitler, and the Polish government a contact exists, as well as an agreement to carry through this hostile campaign."

THE Polish government is responsible to no one but itself. "The Polish people did not elect, did not appoint and did not invest the Polish emigre government with any powers," observes Wanda Wasilewska, the well known writer and chairman of the Union of Polish Patriots—a group of Poles living in the Soviet Union. The Polish government in London is almost a classic model of an autocratic association. It has perpetuated its own crimes without having to account to those brave Poles who carry on the struggle against Hitler every day. It represents the heritage of the Pilsudski-Beck fascists who never had public opinion to support them and could only maintain themselves by terror. The Polish people in 1939, faced with an imminent German invasion, demanded a military alliance with Moscow. But its demands were thwarted by a Munich-infested government that crumbled under the first Nazi blows. The present government continues those anti-Soviet traditions.

Polish officialdom has not restricted its meddling to its offices in London. It has sent "tourists" all over the world to spread its anti-democratic influence and conspire for the building of a cordon sanitaire of states against the USSR. The signing of a pact with the Russians in July 1941 was merely a gesture. Furthermore, it enraged the "tourists" and particularly the key figure among them in this country, Colonel Ignacy Matuszewski, a former official of the Polish government. As a front for his fascist operations, Matuszewski uses the "Committee of Poles of American Descent." Two newspapers, the *Nowy Swiat* of New York and the *Dziennik Polski* of Detroit, have published anti-Soviet material which does not differ by a hairsbreadth from venom in the Nazi press.

Prof. Oscar Lange, formerly a lecturer at the University of Cracow, now teaching at Columbia University and the University of Chicago, wrote to the New York *Herald Tribune* (April 29) that the anti-Soviet campaign was being carried on not only in the emigre press but by the official Polish diplomatic and information services. "Among incidents in this campaign there are such facts as furnishing the Chicago *Tribune* with anti-Soviet material, and the activities of the American Friends of Poland, an organization acting under the auspices of the Polish Embassy and counting among its members this country's foremost isolationist leaders. Colonel Langhorn is chairman, Mr. Cudahy, General Wood, Mr. Robert Hall McCormick, Miss Lucy Martin belong to it. This collaboration of Polish diplomacy with persons who have been outstanding advocates of a negotiated peace with Germany is unanimously interpreted as an anti-Soviet policy."

Referring to the deterioration of Czech-Polish relations which paralleled the decline of Soviet-Polish relations, Professor Lange reports that an anti-Czech campaign was launched in the emigre press and Polish government agencies undertook to support the Slovak separatist movement. Pamphlets prepared by Slovak separatists were distributed in New York and Milan Hodza communicated with Slovak separatists in this country through channels provided by the Polish government. "This situation was made worse when the anti-Soviet line was taken not only by the Right but also by some left wing emigre intellectuals. Thus, for instance, the Socialist *Rabotnik Polski* followed other papers in the anti-Russian campaign. It attacked Mr. Eden's pro-Russian policy, accused Mr. Benes of servilism towards Russia, and supported the Serb nationalists against the Yugoslav partisans."

Professor Lange's letter is an extraordinary indictment. First, it is clear that in this country there are Polish emigres, officially sanctioned by the Polish government, whose activities are not only anti-Soviet but extend to cooperation with appeaser circles which have always advocated a policy of collaboration with Hitler. The fact that General Wood, the former head of America First, and Colonel McCormick, the owner of the defeatist Chicago *Tribune,* are supporting fascist emigre Poles is indicative to what extent the Polish-Nazi network is enmeshing this country too. And second, that the attacks on the Czechs, Yugoslav Partisans, and the British are part of a larger conspiracy to tear asunder the unity of the Allied powers in the prosecution of the war.

At this point one may ask then whether the Soviet Union's rupture of relations with the Polish government was not of decided value to the United Nations. It brought to the attention of the democratic world the web of intrigue woven by the Sikorski government and all its emissaries without portfolio. It proved once and for all that if the United Nations were to remain intact it was necessary to expose the whole caboodle of Nazi-minded Poles who up until a few days ago could work under the most clever camouflage—the camouflage of a government-in-exile. The severance of relations rendered as useful a service as the apprehension of a ring of spies preparing to sabotage military installations. Only this time the stakes were much greater, for they involved the effective functioning of the whole democratic military machine.

WHY was it possible for the Polish government to go as far as it did? The answer to that question involves the attitude of certain British and American groups who continue to treat the USSR as though it were a sixth rate power to be kicked around without restraint. Behind that attitude is the overwhelming fear of accepting the Soviet Union as an equal. Hence all the plotting; hence all the conniving with fascist Poles for a barricade of states around the Russians; hence the support for Polish imperialist aggrandizement.

The Polish government undoubtedly felt confident that it could pursue its objectives without reprimand. After all wasn't Assistant Secretary of State Berle courting Kaiser Otto Hapsburg? Wasn't Mr. Bullitt saying the same things Polish government officials were talking about? Didn't the State Department play marbles with Darlan and North African Vichymen while the de Gaullist National Committee was being shunted about as though it was some foundling left on France's doorstep? Wasn't the United States still at peace with a Hitler vassal, Finland? Didn't a United States senator, several so-called labor leaders, and the mayor of the largest city in the Western Hemisphere speak at an anti-Soviet meeting held on behalf of executed fascist agents—Alter and Ehrlich?

The Sikorski cabal observed all these currents and decided that it too could swim in them without risk. But what would the Polish government have been able to achieve if there had been no enigmas in foreign policy in which it could wrap itself for protection? Polish officialdom would have been smoked out of its hole months ago and no Matuszewski could have remained in this country to continue his fifth column work among Americans of Polish descent.

This is a real world—a world in which the ordinary difficulties of coalition warfare must keep our diplomats busy day and night forging the common effort instead of engaging in fanciful projects which may mean our defeat. Our Soviet ally at this moment is carrying the burden of our defense. It is also defending the Polish people with rivers of Russian blood and it is obvious that it will not tolerate any backknifing clique in London or elsewhere. The least we and Britain can do is play an equally forthright role. JOHN STUART.

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THE FIGHTING GREEKS

The story of the brave guerrillas. More than 12,000 are operating on Crete alone, one of the possible points of Allied invasion. By Demetrios Christophorides.

THE Greek guerrilla movement sprang up in 1941 after the fall of Greece and today operates all over the countryside. Made up of isolated remnants of the army unwilling to surrender, including some Britishers from the British Expeditionary Force, initial and formless resistance has developed into the present well organized United Liberation Front, which in some areas has full administrative control. According to reports from underground Greece, Turkey, and the Middle East, the *Antartae* (Greek Partisans) cover the principal mountain ranges of the country: Pindus in the North, Rhodope in the northeast, Olympus in the center, Taygettus in the Peloponnesus, the White Mountains and the Psiloritis of Crete Island —to name only the dominating heights from which the guerrillas carry on warfare against the occupationists. It is estimated that there are about 30,000 Partisans, and that 12,000 are operating under General Mantakas in Crete Island, one of the most probable first points of Allied invasion.

In some instances, such as Karpenissi in Thessaly, and Kastoria in northwestern Greece, the *Antartae* have wrested the towns from the Italian garrisons. Towns and villages often change hands between the guerrillas and the occupationists. In many areas the guerrilla command has established civil authorities. The Partisans blow up bridges, depots, railroads, and dynamite the headquarters of the invaders. They often join the workers even in such cities as Athens and Piraeus, or Calamata, Salonica and others, in destroying the invaders' port facilities.

There are no accurate statistics about the number of people executed as a reprisal for sabotage. The figure of the Agency for Inter-Allied Information is 18,000; it may be much higher. Zervas, Spais, Douras, Banopoulos, Mantakas, and others are mentioned in the reports as some of the guerrilla leaders. The Greek government-in-exile, although acquainted with the identity of those who are playing a leading part in the widespread guerrilla movement, does not divulge the names, perhaps be-

S. Lyons

"I'll annex England; you take Russia."

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cause it does not desire to publicize political foes.

The underground newspaper *Fighting Greece* describes in one of its issues how the guerrilla organization deals with the Greek quislingite officials, profiteers, extortionists, and their spy system. They warn the workers, for instance, that "the president of the Athens Labor Center, Kalyvas, is closely cooperating with the Italian garrison." Another warning refers to "Miss Sina Frankia, daughter of a baker on the Calamata seashore" as "an agent of the Italians, often traveling with a free pass throughout the Peloponnesus to spy on the population, and she has already ruined many people."

In another paragraph the underground organization has this to say: "Be cautious! The Syntrivani Restaurant, Themistocles St., and the Cecil are centers of Gestapo spies. Those who desire to leave for Egypt must be distrustful toward unknown persons, because the occupationists dispatched in all directions their agents who approach Greek officers under the pretense that they want to facilitate their escape to Egypt, and then conduct them to the prison of Averoff."

There were reports last year about combined action of Greek and Yugoslav guerrillas, but, curiously enough, such reports were abruptly interrupted when the Mikhailovich dealings with the Axis occupationists against the Partisans were disclosed. Some time ago a report from Istanbul again referred to a contact between the Greek and Yugoslav patriots. Greek government sources seem to have cooked up and dished out this contact as a move toward cooperation between the Chetniks and the Greek Partisans. But Intercontinent News' Istanbul correspondent refers to a contact between Greek and Yugoslav "patriots" or Partisan Army.

As is well known, Greece, along with other Balkan countries, suffered an economic invasion by Doctor Schacht and Doctor Clodius during and after the pre-Munich period. Their notorious barter schemes placed Greece under a semi-rationing system. The staple foods of Greece were being looted long before the fall of Greece. The invasion has completed the pillage. As soon as the Germans reached Athens and other cities, their first step was to appear before every store, on trucks loaded with valueless paper currency, and "buy out" everything they could lay their hands on, both for the use of the army and for use back home.

They ruthlessly seized all foodstuffs produced thereafter.

There is an authentic report on the economic and health situation in Greece, signed by well known Greek economists, agriculturists, physicians, chemists, and other specialists, dated May 21, 1942, which has reached Alexandria and New York. According to this report, the average weight of bread used per capita yearly in Greece was 211 kilograms before the war. Now the average is seventy kilograms. Before the war, the average weight of beans (another staple food) used yearly in Greece was 68,000 tons. Now the average is only 28,000 tons. Potato production has been reduced from 160,000 tons yearly to 110,000 and this year is expected to be less. Olive oil has been, throughout the whole history of Greece, one of the indispensable foodstuffs of the Greek people. Yet, in 1942, the average per capita use was forty drams (a dram is one-eighth of an ounce).

The normal vegetable production of Greece was 500,000 tons yearly, and now is only one-half of that. The peasants are producing their vegetables under Nazi guard, and the produce is seized as soon as cropped, with very little left for the producer's use. In 1941 only 1,000,000 out of the 7,000,000 population ate meat, and that was fifty drams per capita. In the pre-war period Greece used 140,000 tons of meat—now, only 160 tons!

The people of Greece need for a normal nutritious diet 232,000 tons of meat and 1,100,000 tons of grain, beans, dry vegetables, etc. Yet in 1943 they will get (including 15,000 tons shipped by relief organizations) 180,000 tons of grain and 50,000 tons of other foodstuffs, that is, about one-sixth of their needs. Before the war the Greek per capita daily calorie diet was 2,500; now it is from 307 to 458 daily.

These per capita figures should not lead the reader to believe that every Greek gets today one-sixth of his previous share in food. Only a small privileged percentage of the population shares in that one-sixth. The great majority cannot afford to pay black market prices and, therefore, do not get even one-sixth. There are no accurate statistics, but the degree of Greek mortality from lack, or inadequacy, of food is appalling. Nazism has become synonymous with death from hunger or sheer assassination.

Very little is generally known about the political situation in Greece or about the role of the Greek government-in-exile. The New York *Times* correspondent in London, C. L. Sulzberger, recently wrote that the Greeks and their government-in-exile have no internal, factional, or ideological problems. This statement is not entirely true. The Greeks do not live in a national or international political vacuum. The truth is that the people of Greece, perhaps more than any other people, have achieved unity of all parties and ideologies in their fight against the occupationists. But the Greek government-in-exile is no part of that United Front as yet, in spite of recent cabinet changes.

It is a fact, little known to the general public, that all political parties and groups in Greece united in constituting what they called the United Front of Liberation. The decisions made by that organization are the following:

(1) The Greek government which formerly had its seat in London (now at Cairo, Egypt), is considered provisional.

(2) As soon as even a part of Greece is liberated, a coalition government shall be formed to resume the administration of the country. In that government all political parties and currents which exist in Greece shall be represented, without exception. The present President of the London Greek government shall be invited to participate in the government as "representative of the royal interests," but shall be excluded from holding any of the War Ministries or the Ministry of the Interior.

(3) The coalition government shall hold a plebiscite by which the people of Greece shall decide their future regime.

(4) The Allied governments of England, Russia, and the United States shall be asked to send observers during the conduct of the plebiscite.

(5) King George or any other member of the dynasty will not be permitted to return to Greece before the plebiscite is conducted and its results published.

There is reliable information that the guerrilla leaders are even more radical in their political views.

The above decisions have been twice conveyed to the Greek government-in-exile, once through Mr. P. Canellopoulos, and again through another political leader from Greece, although it is not clear as yet whether or not the latter has been able to reach London or Cairo.

It is also not clear what Mr. Canellopoulos' precise role has been. We know only that when he reached Egypt, the Greek government-in-exile persuaded him to enter the cabinet as Vice-President and Minister of National Defense. He had the reputation of being "a left democrat" with socialistic tendencies, and as such, King George thought he would be able to appease a considerable number of anti-royalist officers in and out of the Greek Army, Navy, and Air Force, based in the Middle East. These officers, through two memorandums, actually demanded the removal of all top officers of the armed forces who were known for their fascist or pro-German sentiments.

It must be noted that King George, even after the fall of Greece, was surrounded by highly placed fascist elements. The fact that Prime Minister Tsouderos, whom he appointed on the eve of his flight from Greece in 1941, is supposed to be an old Liberal did not mean a thing to those toughly realistic democratic army officers. The Greek government-in-exile was also advised that these officers' views and demands were strengthened by reports from Greece that there was a strong popular trend to the left, and some conservative republican elements in the country thought the insistence of the King and his

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foreign protectors to return to Greece would strengthen the leftward trend. It must be remembered that King George was the head of the fascist government in Greece from Aug. 4, 1936, to the day of his flight. Dictator Metaxas was his *appointed* chancellor, since the latter's followers in the Chamber of Deputies were no more than three.

As a result of these developments, Mr. Canellopoulos was called to London to discuss the whole matter with the government. These discussions took place a little over two months ago, and the Greek Office of Information has released a statement from the cabinet to the effect that the Greek government-in-exile, "adhering to the principle of popular sovereignty," shall relinquish power "as soon as it returns to Athens after the liberation of Greece, in order that another government may be formed representing all political and social currents and all national forces, be they grouped in political parties or political organizations which have contributed, during the occupation, to the cause of liberation."

Mr. Canellopoulos, as a Minister of Defense, with direct jurisdiction over the Greek Army, had proceeded to remove some fascist officers. This, though painless, caused violent protests from the adherents of the dictatorial regime of 1936, while the democratic officers continued to protest his fake measures. In any case, Mr. Canellopoulos returned to Egypt with the above message of the Greek Cabinet. But it seems that the opposition to King George is too realistic to consider seriously such lip concessions. So the Vice-President resigned as an acknowledgment of his defeat, after a series of "incidents."

MR. CANELLOPOULOS' resignation was followed by dramatic new changes in the cabinet of the government-in-exile, now seated in Cairo. This time the King decided to remove from the cabinet the last fascist remnants, including Admiral Sakellariou, commander of the Greek Navy. The new members of the cabinet are old orthodox Liberals. Mr. George Roussos, former Greek ambassador to Washington and an aged wealthy lawyer, was appointed Vice-President and Minister of the Navy, while Mr. Karapanayiotis was appointed Minister of War. We do not know as yet whether the purge included all the fascist-minded commanders of the army, the air force, and the navy. Diplomatic, consular, and foreign port authorities are still unpurged.

These changes, welcome as another step in the right direction, were, no doubt, brought about by the pressure of national and international developments; but so far, there is no statement by the reconstructed cabinet as to its policy toward the demands of the United Liberation Front in Greece and of the guerrilla leaders, who are strongly democratic. In connection with the Greek guerrilla leaders' attitude the Greek Office of Information released the news that Colonel Zervas, one of the Partisan leaders in Greece, sent a message to King George, expressing his devotion to him. The GOI does not give the text of the message, but it gives the text of the King's answer to Zervas. The "Zervas Message" is therefore surrounded by a mist of vagueness.

Another significant fact is that the Greek government dubs Zervas "Leader of the units of free fighters in Greece," without explaining how, when, and who made Zervas a "leader."

The whole affair smells something like the concoction of the "Mikhailovich leadership" in Yugoslavia. In short, the Greek government-in-exile is far from representative of the situation in Greece. The working class and the farmers of Greece are ignored. The only Greek workers outside of the country, the seamen, are still being treated inhumanly.

THE King and Premier Tsouderos are now in Egypt. As the battle of Tunisia approaches a decisive phase, an attack against the Axis through the Balkans is not a mere possibility. The recent purposely undiplomatic and provocatively pro-Allied statement of Sukru Saracoglou, the Turkish Premier, statements of the Greek government itself in regard to an approaching invasion, and other developments strengthen the belief that an attack against the Balkan Peninsula with Turkey's assistance may be a development of the near future.

The "Greek question" therefore acquires a special significance. Will the Allies risk civil war in Greece by taking King George on their military expedition and utterly ignore the people's expressed will? King George's regime is a liability of the British government, inherited along with other political gadgets of Munich from the preceding regime. No doubt there are certain people in our own State Department who sympathize with such antiquated and hated regimes. But clear-minded leaders like Churchill and our President can see that there is no justification, military or political, for transferring back to Greece a regime which has no followers.

There are a dozen underground papers published in Greece, including three Communist publications, besides occasional leaflets. None of these papers is interested in King George's regime, and there is no other evidence of sympathy for it. From a purely realistic point of view, it would be sheer recklessness to ignore the sentiment and the will of the people of Greece; and mind you, Greece is not a colony like French Africa. She is part of Europe, and as such, the testing ground of the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, and the revolutionary march of the common man. A country whose workers in Athens, in full view of the Nazi artillery, dare to refuse to comply with Hitler's mobilization orders, is not a favorable ground for violent and royalist reexperimentation.

I also wish to express the belief that a process of understanding between the peoples of Greece and Yugoslavia, to replace the pact of solidarity between King George and King Peter, is going on at the present time. Such an understanding will be the true solid foundation for a democratic Balkan federation.

DEMETRIOS CHRISTOPHORIDES.

Stanley DeGraff

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HOW STRONG IS BRITISH LABOR?

While the trade unions grow, membership in the Labor Party declines. R. Palme Dutt tells why. The imperative need for unity between the Communists and the Laborites.

In last week's "New Masses," Mr. Dutt discussed the general problems of British labor unity and the background of political events motivating the Communists' proposal for affiliation with the Labor Party. The question of affiliation will be voted on by the Labor Party conference to be held next month.

London (by mail).

CAN we be satisfied with the present situation of the British Labor movement, and especially of the political labor movement, in relation to the needs and possibilities? It is generally agreed by all serious observers that we are faced with very grave problems of both organization and policy. Indeed, some members of the Labor Party have spoken of a crisis in the development of the Party. Yet at the same time there is an outstanding movement of very wide sections of public opinion toward a socialist or left outlook. Here is a contradiction that suggests something is wrong. The question is: does the issue of unity or disunity have a bearing on these problems? Would unity through affiliation of the Communist Party assist in their solution?

Let us begin with the facts in regard to organized numbers, the effective forces of the Labor movement. There has been a signal increase of working class organization in the most recent period, and it is rapidly going forward. There is no lack of health here; on the contrary, there is abounding life. Trade unionism increased by 548,000 in 1941, by 1,300,000 in 1942, and now stands at the record figure of 8,400,000. There are some 6,000,000 in unions affiliated with the Trades Union Congress, and some 9,000,000 members of cooperatives; a splendid growth in the mass economic organizations of the workers. Undoubtedly there are plenty of problems to be faced. But the general picture is one of marked progress.

One cannot fail to note that this rapid growth, this healthy progress, has taken place precisely in the trade union fields, where—with certain black exceptions—Communist and non-Communist workers are free in the main to work together for the common good of the organization; and that the advance has been most signal in unions which have refused to operate "black circular" methods against their members. The leading officials of these foremost progressive unions are the most ready to recognize—though they themselves are opposed to the Communist viewpoint—the part which the Communist members, as officials or as rank-and-filers, have been able to play in the striking advance of these unions. It is also significant that the weakest spot in the general advance of trade unionism today is in the trades councils, where the Labor Party method of "black circular" or exclusion of Communists has been most rigorously applied in many towns and centers—with the result that these once lusty organs of local unity have been much weakened.

But if we turn from this general picture of growth and advance to the political labor movement, we find a different story. Here we encounter a decline in the active membership of the Labor Party, alongside a growth of political working class consciousness and organization outside the party, with the net total falling far behind the level of development of the organized working class movement as a whole.

THE Labor Party in 1941 had 226,000 individual members, as against 447,000 in 1937. Of the 5,500,000 trade unionists affiliated to the Trades Union Congress in 1941, only some two-fifths, or 2,230,000, were affiliated to the Labor Party, representing an increase of 193,000 from 1937 (inadequate to compensate the decrease in individual members). This very small growth in trade unionists affiliated to the Labor Party strikingly contrasts with the increase of 1,500,000 trade unionists affiliated to the Trades Union Congress during the same years, 1937-41. That is to say, the percentage of trade unionists affiliated to the Labor Party fell from fifty-one percent to forty-two percent, while the number of individual members fell by half. Finally, the number of members affiliated through the "Socialist Societies" section amounted to the almost invisible total of 2,908, contrasting with 49,800 in 1918, when the Independent Labor Party and the British Socialist Party were affiliated.

On the other hand, the Communist Party has 65,000 members, as against 12,500 in 1937—but outside the Labor Party, although as trade unionists paying the political levy. The meaning of this figure in the development of the political working class movement is especially important when we remember that the old Independent Labor Party had only 30,000 members even when it held the key position in the Labor Party, with the majority of Labor MPs—and only 35,000 members at its highest point, in the years immediately after the last war.

What does this uneven situation indicate? It points straight to the sickness in the present position of the political Labor movement, underlying the problems of the Labor Party. The Labor Party was built on the alliance of the trade unions and the Socialist organizations, to which the individual members were added in 1918. The individual members could not replace the role of the Socialist organizations, as was recognized in the Constitution of 1918 and is still recognized in the formal structure of the present Constitution. But the Socialist organizations within the Labor Party have become an invisible shadow. The alliance has temporarily broken down, or rather, has artificially been disrupted. The founders of the Labor Party recognized very definitely the indispensable role which the Socialist organizations must play, as the vital political campaigning force within the

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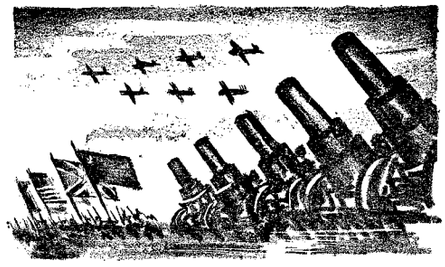
Labor Party, without which it would inevitably degenerate into a federation of economic mass organizations, with their sectional interests and individual politicians. But the successors of the Labor Party's original founders have forgotten the lesson and destroyed the essential basis of the Labor Party by their disciplinary actions.

The active Socialist workers, who were organized in the Socialist groups, have not disappeared. On the contrary, their numbers have actually increased, in accordance with the growing political consciousness of the working class. An important proportion of the active Socialist workers, such as were organized in 1918 in the Independent Labor and British Socialist parties, are today organized in the Communist Party (65,000 members, as against 45,000 members of the ILP and BSP together in 1918). But they are artificially cut off from the indispensable role which they should be playing within the Labor Party—that is, within the political mass movement based on the economic mass organizations of the workers—by the refusal to affiliate with the Communist Party and the consequential rules excluding Communists from exercising their democratic rights as trade unionists within the Labor Party. *Thus the alliance, which was the essential basis of the Labor Party, has been broken. This is the heart of the sickness, the inner canker, undermining the vitality of the Labor Party. The alliance must be rebuilt. This is the essence of the question of affiliation.*

What are the practical consequences of this radically false policy, which is expressed in the refusal of affiliation and the attempt to erect an artificial barrier between the Communist workers and the rest of the political Labor movement? The harmful results can be seen in concrete experience on every side.

FIRST, the heavy collapse of individual membership of the Labor Party, which is the visible expression of the present political difficulties and the weakening of activity. The official explanation offered for this collapse on the grounds of war conditions, the call-up, and the difficulty of political activity in the blackout, etc., will not hold water. For under the same conditions, as we have seen, trade union membership has enormously increased, while the membership of the Communist Party has increased five-fold and its political activities have been intensified, despite technical difficulties. Nor is it adequate to attribute the collapse to the electoral truce. During the past twenty months the Communist Party has in practice also observed the electoral truce; yet its main increase of membership has taken place during this period. Attributing the collapse to the electoral truce is in reality only a reflection of the degeneration which destroyed the conception of a vital, campaigning political Labor movement and degraded the Labor Party to the role of a



mere electoral machine. The result is that when electoral contests are temporarily interrupted, all reason for activity seems to many supporters to have disappeared. The basic political explanation cannot be evaded, and it must be sought in the whole line of policy that has thwarted the development of a united, active, powerful political Labor movement, and has found organizational expression in the exclusion of Communists and promotion of disunity.

Second, the harmful consequences can be traced in the conditions in any locality: in the problems of stagnation, apathy, frustration, etc. Every political worker in a locality, whether Communist or Laborite, who is striving to achieve something, is constantly aware of the deadweight of senseless, harassing regulations and prohibitions which paralyze the most elementary common action and take the heart out of the movement. Despite divisions on top, the local class conscious workers constantly strive to cooperate. They are closer to the point of common struggle; united in the common aims of the working class movement, united and fighting together as trade unionists, they naturally strive to cooperate in the political field. Then down comes the hammer from headquarters, the bans, the disruptions of the common activity, the expulsions, the breaking up of organizations, and, in extreme cases, the final dessicated "reorganized" official movement, with the life taken out of it.

All of which means that the life of the political Labor movement in many localities develops in two halves, each having an indispensable contribution to make but each incompletely effective without the other.

On one hand there is the Communist Party branch, with perhaps 100 members in a smaller town, with some trade union support and a strong basis in the factories, and some middle class support, conducting active campaigns and meetings—but cut off from the local Labor Party, which, though possibly less active, remains the recognized focus of the local Labor movement. On the other hand there is the local Labor Party with a larger nominal role of individual members, but able to call on only few for activity. It has the affiliation of trade union branches (often many too few) but usually only formal contact with them, and no contact in the factories. It has important representation on the Council, or even dominates it, but with a slight role played by the councilors in the daily activity of the Labor movement. This local Labor Party conducts scarcely any campaigns or holds only a few poorly attended meetings, and its local officials often envy the enthusiastic voluntary support on which the Communist Party is able to count.

Meanwhile, the overwhelming mass of the population of the town is not effectively reached by either party. Is it not obvious that unity here (not merely of the handful of individuals on either side, but of the Communist Party and the Labor Party) would mean much more than a simple addition of forces? It would mean a completely new role of a united Labor movement capable of becoming a real mass movement leading the whole life of the town in every phase. Affiliation is not merely a question of two national parties: it means new life for the labor movement in every locality in the country.

Third, the harmful consequences of the present system also extend to the trade unions. A simple example will make this clear. The South Wales Miners Federation, let us say, elects the Communist Arthur Horner as their president: that is to say, they trust him to represent them in vital negotiations, to conduct the affairs of their organization and to be their spokesman. In the industrial assembly of the working class movement, at the Trades Union Congress, he can speak on their behalf. But when it comes to the most important questions of all, the political questions, to be decided at the Labor Party Conference, he is debarred from representing them, however much they may demand him as their representative. Is it not plain that this does not mean merely depriving the Communist Arthur Horner of his rights? It means disfranchising 120,000 South Wales miners in the matter of choosing their spokesman at the political conference of the working class movement. The intention may be to stifle the voice of Marxism: but it is the voice of the working class that is choked.

The fourth harmful consequence is a dangerous tendency to separation between the trade unions and the Labor Party. The Trades Union Congress, with Communist representation, may reach a different viewpoint on policy from the Labor Party. If a union moves to a Communist outlook, it would be automatically excluded from the Labor Party when it attempted to send delegates representing its views. Thus the endeavor to impose a doctrinal basis, alien to the working class outlook, means a threat to shatter the solidarity of the unions in the political field. At the present stage, the danger of the tendency to separate the trade unions and the Labor Party is revealed in the critically low status of the political levy. It is a grave warning signal that not the most backward unions, but the most militant ones, show the lowest record of payment of the political levy. Of 800,000 members in the Amalgamated Engineering Union, 85,000—or one in

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ten—pay the levy. Of 60,000 members in the Locomotive Engineers 11,000 (in 1941) paid. This is a scandalous state of affairs. Insofar as militant workers refuse to pay because of disagreement with policies at present dominant in the Labor Party, this is a criminally mistaken line, because it means leaving a clear field to the policies with which they disagree—instead of paying the levy and fighting for the correct policies. But the main lesson is that the Labor Party has not yet won the majority of trade unionists to its support. There is alienation between the Labor Party and the mass of trade unionists, and the policies of disunity promote this separation. The establishment of a united Labor movement would create the basis for a powerful campaign to increase payment of the political levy to the Labor Party.

FIFTH, the harmful consequences extend to the industrial work of the trade unions. The system of bans and exclusions, begun by the Labor Party in the political field, penetrates also into the industrial sphere. This process began with the General Council's "black circular" in 1934. Although only partially in effect, it has already done serious harm in some unions, and especially in the Trades Councils. Thus the political system of discrimination begun by the Labor Party with the refusal of Communist affiliation and the exclusion of Communists or Communist sympathizers, inevitably extends, if it is not resisted, until it begins to threaten the industrial solidarity of the workers and the indispensable basis of the trade unions as organizations of all workers irrespective of political outlook.

Sixth, and most important is the effect in the sphere of policy. At a time when the most vital problems of policy confront the working class movement and require its full strength to reach a united solution, the refusal of Communist affiliation and exclusion of Communists prevent a common discussion and the shaping of a common policy. The Communist view of a given question may be right or wrong; it may be liked or disliked, criticized or approved. But the most inveterate opponent of the whole Communist outlook would have to admit today the plain fact that it represents the outlook of an important, growing section of the politically conscious workers. The attempt artificially to exclude its expression will make the discussion of policy in the conferences of the organized movement lop-sided and one-sided, less and less representative of the actual discussions in the living movement. The record of Marxism in this country on the major issues of the past twenty years gives it a right to be heard. A most important advantage of affiliation is that it would make possible the fullest democratic discussion of main problems of policy by the working class movement as a whole, with a view to hammering out a common line of action.

"If they pass the Rumi plan, we can AFFORD the Black Market."

WHY, then, is there opposition to affiliation?

It comes chiefly from that section of the older leadership most sincerely and seriously opposed to the Communist viewpoint; who believe that Communist principles are directly opposed to what they regard as the principles of the Labor Party; and who fear the advance of Communism within the party. Consequently they are so anxious to combat the advance of the working class movement toward Communism that they will not leave this matter to a democratic decision. They feel it essential to exclude the Communist voice from the conferences of the movement, to exclude Communist participation from the common struggle, even at the cost of splitting the working class movement more and more deeply.

We believe that this attitude is deeply mistaken, both in its judgment of the Communist Party's principles and its evaluation of the real interests of the Labor Party.

This direct opposition from the extreme right is supplemented and assisted by contrary fears and hesitations from the left, from some supporters of Communism and left Labor representatives. They fear that the Communist Party will be hopelessly compromised if it enters the Labor Party, that it will be bound hand and foot, unable to express its views. They demand to know why the Communist Party "should attach itself to a corpse," declare that the Labor Party is "discredited" or "dying," or hope to replace it with some new combination of the left.

I believe that this attitude also is profoundly mistaken—mistaken in its understanding of the British Labor movement's present stage of development and of the role of Communism within the movement. It is a failure to comprehend the enormous positive significance and transformation entailed in the Labor Party's acceptance of Communist affiliation.

R. PALME DUTT.

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I AM A SOLDIER'S WIFE

What happens to those who are left behind? "The women I know have met the occasion as women who understand and hate fascism should."

MY HUSBAND is with our army in Africa. We were married less than two years when he went away, but I don't suppose that our emotions differed much from thousands of other couples who'd been married ten days or ten years when it came to parting.

We were lucky in a way, because he trained at a camp near enough for an occasional week-end together. With what joy and anxiety we came to those reunions, each glancing discreetly at the other to see how the other was getting along under new conditions! The strangeness of the uniform, hotel rooms, and train stations began to wear off and, after a time, we could resume with ease the dear exchange of experiences and emotions, each reassured in the other's love.

In between thirty-six hour leaves, we wrote many, many letters. I was delighted to find that he wrote just like himself, and loved him all the more for it. Then he stopped writing and I knew that he'd left the country. In November I realized that he was taking part in the African offensive. In the interim until I received his first letter the day before Christmas, my only defined worry was lest he should have fallen out of the invasion barge . . . he can't swim.

I've never worried about him since—that is, not in a sense of anxiety, self-pity, and fear for his well-being. I know that he's strong, that army life has been good for him physically, and, more important than anything, that he believes in the cause for which the war is being fought. I know that he wants to fight and win this war.

We don't write each other as often—we haven't the time. And the press of rapid events, of time and distance, not to mention the censor, have robbed us of the ability to fully exchange our thoughts.

But while the thread of written words may seem to be all that remains, for the time being, of our relationship, the pattern of our lives is still closely interwoven. Our marriage, our separation now, has never been a thing in itself, existing apart from the world in which we live. All the value that our lives may have is expressed in deep concern and action for the battlefronts of progress around us. Our relationship is an inseparable part of this bigger whole. Now that this battlefront has assumed a literal form for him, that small part of our energies that was devoted to each other flows into other channels.

IT ISN'T hard to find those channels. At sixteen, I began to work for a living. When we were married I continued working, and as our lives drew closer together our work became more closely identified, to the point where I was able to help replace him as an organizer in his union when the army called him.

In this broad channel of work, which was his work, the happy and troublesome problems with which it is connected are always associated in some sense with our relationship. It's been more difficult to help replace him than I was even able to imagine. Indeed, I feel keenly the distinctness of his personal qualities of leadership in relation to this work and I know now that I can never fill that place. It is almost an additional handicap to have been so closely identified with him that, seen by myself, I am not able to be all—or even a part—of what he meant to many people. But each has his contribution to make. Mine, such as it will be, is even now a part of him.

My responsibilities have increased many times during the past months and often, in my mind's eye, I reach out to him for help. What would he do in this situation or that? I vainly try to recapture the clarity and directness with which he went to the heart of a question, the ease and lurking gaiety which he carried to a problem. I try to place his image in the midst of my work, even to imagining him accepting the employers' traditional cigars which are never offered to me. But such solace as I find in this mirage is fleeting and I wrench myself away to the problems at hand. The function of trade unions as the guardian of the economic interests of working people takes on new forms and added facets in this war. I know that he couldn't give me the solution to the problems that confront me in my work now—but I know that if he were here, we could seek their solution together and he would guide me.

AND then I've wondered if the absence of his guidance hasn't propelled me forward more quickly to assume responsibility I might have hesitated to take before. He was very proud of me and sometimes, I thought, afraid of the mistakes that I would make. I've made those mistakes since and will no doubt make others. I think that he is no less proud of me now. In the years to come, as I draw close to the maturity of this work which he was approaching, I shall find my own place, aided by his love and confidence which is never very far from my grasp.

His absence has brought many changes in my life. But on the surface, my way of living doesn't appear to be very different, save for working much harder. And, looking around me, this seems to hold true for the many women whom I know whose husbands are also away in the army. There is nothing remarkable or unusual in their conduct or the routine of their work. At whatever emotional cost to themselves, they have met the occasion as women who understand and hate fascism should. Only once in a rare while one notes a woman for whom the stress of adjustment is apparently too much personal responsibility. I've made better friendships with women I had known before and have a warmer appreciation of our common interests. The barriers in former ways of life which tended to separate women from each other are giving way to the pressure of history. The comradely relations among men which we had seen and envied are now more possible and necessary among women.

This is not to say that I don't miss him in a deeply personal and sometimes painful sense. I doubt if any woman separated by war from her comrade and husband would not experience that sharp personal sorrow at some time. Nor is there any part of our relationship that I miss more than another. Sharing our work, building a creative life together, the interchange of ideas and feeling that was so close between us that their origin in one of us was impossible to trace—all this I miss—and more, that I can't fashion into words.

And if he should die? That blighting thought occurs inevitably, though never wilfully called forth. I hurry by that vision, but even in flight the whisper of the thought tells me: even so, you'd still follow those channels of life that you both shared.

WE DECIDED that we'd have a baby when he comes back. But beyond the longing for that reunion, it's even difficult to imagine his return. Our two persons, that were becoming one being together, have been separated and it's never possible to take up just where we left off. When we meet again, we'll be two different people and must begin again the

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process of building a life together under new conditions.

Of all the sensations attendant on his absence, I cannot say that the shadows of craven thoughts have not crossed my mind, that ill-considered and self-indulgent ideas have not found expression. But it's difficult to explore and explain the subtle emotions surrounding one's separation from that most dearly cherished person. I'm not even sure that it's fruitful to attempt it. Because, taken alone, it's only a thing that exists; in itself it's not a problem that requires a solution.

To feel the sorrow of his absence, to sense the grief of his possible loss, and yet to take deep pride that he may contribute a blow against fascism, is not just associated with one's personal relationship. It is a small part of the world scene which can leave no one unmoved or uninspired. The battle for Stalingrad, the blood that colored the River Ebro, the long years of war of the Chinese people, the death of Dolores Ibarruri's son, of Colin Kelly and Meyer Levin, the machine gun in the hands of Dorie Miller—in some way, this great heroism and sadness is mingled with one's own personal reflections.

OUR mute letters to each other can say little of what we'd like to. But I know he feels as I do. These are terrible and heroic days of battle, but we can't wish that they were otherwise. We miss each other, but we can't wish that we were together as we used to be. We can only try to work and fight harder—not for the return of the so-called "normal and peaceful" times that we have always known—but for a truly peaceful period of progress and development of man's creative energies that we have never known.

ELLEN DAVIDSON.

Of the People in Their Parks

The people are walking in their parks. They pass
Through the branches not like hunter nor like deer,
But move like the movement of sunlight on the grass.

From their rooms, apartments, houses, they come here,
At the boundary their hands relaxed as sleep,
To live for an hour in what they own together.

Imperial at the gate they enter, stop,
Regard their estate, and then, struck into dream,
Let fall on the common paths a dreamer's step.

And so by their owning they disown, resume,
Their estate reclaimed, that state that owners love,
And lovers, when unencumbered in their dream.

Yet to the walkers in these parks, what moves
Beyond the gate is dream, and this is real,
And time in monuments their will can prove.

The people are walking in their parks. They stroll
Through the tulip's elegance to meet themselves,
To see themselves tall at the waterfall.

For it is rich to see a throng revolve
About a pool of swans, like columns rise
From water conquered in those coral shelves.

And it is rich to see the children's eyes
Quite mad with play, quite mad and therefore free,
And the mad grass crushed green upon their organdies.

And it is rich to say, come here with me,
Come let us find a swing, a pendulum,
To make a clock of us, from time set free.

Come, we shall two bodies make a pendulum
To make time in our movement, fast or slow,
Death and rebirth at each tick's delight. Oh, come.

The people are walking in their parks. They go
Through the branches in the evening pale, intent,
To meet what seems all through the dusk to go.

For this real must break into dream's tenement,
And that dream be accepted real again,
Unless this dream be caught and permanent.

Their parks are seeking power in their men,
And the people are walking in their parks. They pass
Through the seeker, they seek the seeker of men.

Who will meet, as the central switch floodlights the grass,
The astonished swans, the monkeys in their fright,
And all the people poised on the floodlit grass.

Who will meet, the self and selves in a cirque of light,
And the dream take hands in the brilliant park,
The self made many, the selves made one. In the night
The people, the people are walking in their parks.

ROBERT BHAIN CAMPBELL.

"Of the People in Their Parks," by the late Robert Bhain Campbell, a young poet who died several years ago, was submitted to NEW MASSES *by one of his friends. It was a runner-up in the Jefferson poetry contest.*

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READERS' FORUM

USA-USSR Relations

In "New Masses" of April 13, April 27, and May 4 we printed several statements of prominent Americans in answer to four questions regarding USA-USSR relations: (1) What in your estimation is the status of American-Soviet relations? (2) What obstacles do you feel must be overcome in order to strengthen the ties between both countries? (3) What bearing do you think the question of a second front has on relations between Washington and Moscow? (4) In the light of present American-Soviet relations what do you think our government's attitude toward Finland should be?

A few replies either came too late to be included in the symposium published, or had to be omitted for lack of space. We are therefore printing the balance of them below.

TO NEW MASSES: Compared to the time before June 1941, American-Soviet relations have improved enormously. A stock of good will has been created which even occasional misunderstandings will not easily destroy. Improvement of these relations is still very necessary, because victory in this war and after this war must be based on friendly relations between the USSR and the United States. The old distrust in this country is always in evidence, due mainly to twenty-five years of systematic misinformation of the public, and kindled by propaganda of the enemies of the United Nations. During the triumphant Russian winter offensive this propaganda has been growing. Even men like William Green and Mayor LaGuardia have shown lack of immunity to this kind of obvious poison. The friend of the United Nations should be aware of the lack of depth in American-Soviet relations, and should continue to build on a foundation of good will which has already been laid.

In this country, I see two main obstacles to be overcome in order to strengthen ties between the USA and the USSR. The first is the still existing misinformation among large sections of the public concerning the conditions existing in the USSR and the mistaken belief that revolutions, like Dutch cheeses, can be exported. Books like those of Hewlett Johnson and of Joseph Davies, magazines like the recent issue of *Life*, radio programs, etc., can help to spread better information. I believe that the Soviet government might help in bringing to the United States representatives of labor, of the arts, of the sciences, and especially of the church, to inform our public, and we might reciprocate. The second obstacle is the dual foreign policy of the United States, the consistence with which influential circles in Washington back reactionary and fascist elements in occupied Europe under the very eye of the President and the Vice-President, who stand for the Atlantic Charter. Strong public pressure on our government agencies is therefore necessary.

Since the language of deeds speaks louder than the language of words the opening of a second front will tend to improve our relations with the USSR, provided that the people of the United States will be able to keep their native friends of fascism in check.

Finland is ruled by fascists as ruthless as Hitler. I have been unable to see any advantage to the United Nations in our Finnish policy. We shall help our own sailors, our Soviet ally, and our democratic friends among the Finnish people by treating the Finnish government for what it is, the enemy of everything we stand for.

DIRK J. STRUIK.
Professor of Mathematics,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Mass.

TO NEW MASSES: The status of American-Soviet relations is no doubt improving, mainly because of the magnificent demonstration made by the Russians themselves, but also in no small measure because of numerous recent commentaries by outstanding American representatives, such as Wendell Willkie's book and the special issue of *Life*.

The greatest obstacle to be overcome is misunderstanding and misrepresentation, partly deliberate and partly due to ignorance and the difficulties of creating a genuine factual acquaintance.

Outstanding points upon which Americans need to be better informed are (a) the position of religion in Russia and the real reasons for it; (b) the democratic character of Soviet administration, political as well as economic; and (c) Russia's purposes and ambitions with reference to alleged territorial aggrandizement, and the spread of Communistic ideas and organization into other countries.

I think that, except for a popular expression of a general interest in attacking Hitler as effectively as possible, the whole question of a second front would better be left to our military and governmental authorities, who, we must assume, are just as eager to win the war at the earliest possible moment as we civilians are, and who know a whole lot more about the total factors that have to be taken into consideration than we do.

To a civilian, no better informed than I am, it seems strange that we do not break off diplomatic relations with Finland and promptly declare war upon that country. However, I must believe that our leaders have good reason for taking the stand that they do. The invasion of North Africa should have taught us all the lesson that big things may be going on about which we have not the slightest information, and which would necessarily be sabotaged if details were allowed to spread freely among the general public.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD.
Professor of Sociology,
New York University

TO NEW MASSES: 1. The status of Soviet-American relations today is not too harmonious. On two occasions high officials of the American government have made public utterances attacking our Soviet ally. There appears to be a concerted plan in America to disrupt what relations do exist in order to create a basis for breaking off relations with the Soviet Union.

Ambassador Standley's statement, Mr. Bullitt's attack, and now the campaign to arouse suspicion against our Soviet ally because they executed two enemies of the cause of the United Nations, Alter and Ehrlich, is all part of this pattern.

2. The anti-Soviet elements and fifth columnists within the State Department must be ousted from the government service. The American government must speak up forthrightly on this question. We must build up a feeling of trust in our Soviet ally by making the American people understand the tremendous sacrifices the Soviet people are making. The government should take steps to stop the anti-Soviet utterances in the defeatist press of America. This is treason to our country. The State Department must stop carrying on trade with Spain. It should be the Soviet Union that should distrust our motives in this war when our government carries on trade and allows the shipment of gasoline to go to fascist Franco in Spain. Any intelligent person knows that these supplies shipped from America eventually reach Hitler and Mussolini and are used against our Soviet ally on the Eastern Front and to kill American boys in Africa.

3. On June 11, 1942, Foreign Minister Molotov of the Soviet government signed an agreement with President Roosevelt. This agreement pledged the opening up of a land front in Europe in 1942. Nine and one-half months have passed since the signing of that agreement and the defeatists and fascists in America have so far succeeded in sabotaging the carrying out of that agreement. The Soviet Union has borne the brunt of ninety-five percent of the fight against Hitler. They have already sacrificed 5,000,000 of their youth. Naturally the Soviet people cannot understand why the Western Front has not been opened up. They fully appreciate the aid that they have received from America, but it is pretty hard to balance those supplies against the 5,000,000 Soviet youth that have already lost their lives—the 70,000 murdered inhabitants of Kiev, the hundreds of thousands of other Soviet people who have been murdered by the fascists, and the many thousands who have been brought into slavery, producing for Hitler. The Soviet people are fully aware of the amount of supplies that have been shipped from America and, as I have stated, they appreciate it but they are not declaring any holidays or dancing in the streets. They would be only too glad if America would keep those supplies and use them in opening up a second front. That would be the greatest impetus to the real improvement of relations between our country and the Soviet Union.

4. The American government should immediately break off relations and declare war on Finland. Certainly the Soviet people cannot understand why we continue relations with Finland, when Finland is an ally of Hitler Germany and Finnish ports are used as bases for German submarines to sink American ships taking materials to our Soviet ally.

PETER V. CACCHIONE.
Councilman from Brooklyn

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TAXES MADE PAINLESS?

The Ruml Plan hurts you more than the rich; hurts the war effort most . . . other pay-as-you-earn plans.

CONGRESS is once more considering pay-as-you-earn legislation. The average American wants just this: some scheme that will enable him to pay his income tax out of his current earnings in installments that are synchronized with his wages or salary. For millions of new taxpayers from the lower income groups and for many middle-class persons whose taxes have been heavily increased, this is particularly urgent. What has converted a very simple question of the method of payment into a stormy political issue has been the attempt of wealthy individuals and their spokesmen in Congress and the press to relieve themselves of an entire year's taxes. This is the meaning of the Ruml plan.

The 44,000,000 income-tax payers may be classified into three groups: (1) 30,000,000 wage-salary earners whose incomes after exemptions fall within the first surtax bracket of $2,000; (2) 10,000,000 taxpayers whose incomes fall within the first surtax bracket, but who receive a fair proportion of their income from business profits, professional fees, rents, and farm receipts; and (3) 4,000,000 taxpayers whose incomes exceed the first surtax bracket.

The first two groups cover single persons with gross incomes of $2,500—$2,800, and married persons without dependents with gross incomes of $3,200—$3,500. Taxpayers in this group are accustomed to weekly or monthly budgeting and find quarterly tax payments difficult.

Withholding the tax at the source is the only satisfactory method of meeting tax payments for the 30,000,000 wage-salary earners in the first group. The tax would thus be paid by deducting it from the pay check week by week and month by month. But collection-at-the-source solves only one of the two problems involved in putting the income tax on a pay-as-you-earn basis. The second problem is: if the taxes collected at the source in 1943 are to be applied against the tax liability on 1943 income, how dispose of the tax liability on 1942 income? Shall it be cancelled in toto, partially, or not at all?

The central idea of the Ruml plan is to place taxpayers on a current basis by "forgiving" one year's taxes. The Ruml plan proposes that 1942 taxes be forgiven and that payments made in 1943 be credited against the tax on 1943 incomes. The Ruml plan, as embodied in slightly modified form in the bill sponsored by Representative Carlson of Kansas, was condemned by the majority of the House Ways and Means Committee and defeated by the House on March 30. Summarized, the committee's arguments against the Ruml plan, were as follows (this ammunition will prove useful in future battles):

(1) The taxpayer receives two years' income but pays taxes on only one year's income.

(2) Ruml's cancellation of $10,000,000,000 in tax liabilities flies in the face of the President's request for $16,000,000,000 in new revenues.

(3) Total cancellation would "constitute gross violation of the principle of ability to pay," bestowing benefits in "inverse ratio to need." Sixty taxpayers with million-dollar incomes would each receive a benefit of at least $854,000, and "at one stroke the Ruml plan would add to their wealth more than they could save in six years if they saved every cent of their income after taxes."

(4) The plan would shift the tax burden from "the few at the upper end of the income scale to the many at the middle and lower end."

(5) It would stimulate the forces making for inflation by releasing funds previously earmarked for taxes.

(6) It would hurt the war effort, indicating to the fighting forces that those on the home front were making gains rather than sacrifices.

The Ruml plan would wipe out many of the tax increases imposed to finance the war. In the case of a person with a $2,000 net income, it would wipe out seventy-seven percent of the tax increases levied in the last three years, at the $100,000 level, 102 percent, and at the $1,000,000 level, 320 percent.

ANOTHER modification of the Ruml plan is embodied in the bill introduced by Representative Knutson of Minnesota, around which most of the House Republicans rallied. This would "forgive" seventy-five percent of the 1942 taxes on the first $5,000 of income and whatever additional income up to $20,000 might also be "earned income"; it would forgive fifty percent of all income over $20,000.

Much discussed and much misinterpreted even in liberal circles has been the "compromise" Robertson plan, embodied in the Forand bill. The Robertson-Forand plan has very generally been misconstrued as cancelling the 1942 tax only on the first $2,000 of taxable income—the first surtax bracket. Actually the Forand bill would cancel nineteen percent of *total* taxable income, instead of nineteen percent of the first $2,000, or $380; in case of a taxpayer with a $100,000 taxable income, $19,000 of tax liability would be cancelled.

The Robertson-Forand plan would, as as matter of fact, involve a total cancellation of no less than $7,600,000,000.

The CIO has favored cancellation of the normal tax and the tax on the first surtax bracket of $2,000—this is quite distinct from the cancellation under the Robertson-Forand plan. The National Lawyers Guild has favored limiting the cancellation of 1942 taxes to nineteen percent of the first $2,000 of taxable income after exemptions—with a maximum cancellation, therefore, of $380—and spreading the remaining 1942 tax liability over a period of years. The Lawyers Guild has pointed out that its plan would put ninety percent of the 44,000,000 taxpayers on a current basis—and involve no real hardship to those with larger incomes since the balance of the 1942 tax would be payable over a period of several years.

THE closest approximation to this program is the Doughton bill, sponsored by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. This has been endorsed by Secretary Morgenthau and is being supported by the National Lawyers Guild. It provides that 1942 income shall be taxed according to the 1941 rates instead of the higher 1942 rates, with the 1941 exemptions of $750 for a single person and $1,500 for a married person instead of the 1942 exemptions of $500 and $1,200. Under this proposal the 7,000,000 new taxpayers whose 1942 net incomes were under $750 and $1,500, but who were required to pay an income tax in 1943 for the first time, will automatically have their 1942 liability cancelled and will become current. The Doughton bill would cancel from nine to fourteen percent of the net taxable incomes of all taxpayers. It is estimated that this would amount to about $4,400,000,000 of the $9,800,000,000 of the total liability.

Under the Doughton bill taxpayers with net incomes above $750 and $1,500 would have three years (1944-45-46) in which to pay their 1942 taxes at the lower 1941 rates. These payments could be made in installments with discounts allowed for earlier payment. An additional three years' extension could be obtained in hardship cases. Collection at the source would start on July 1, 1943, with a twenty percent withholding tax on wages and salaries.

Whatever action the House takes, it is evident that strong pressure will have to be brought on the Senate to rout the Rumlites who are reported to control the Finance Committee. It is time pay-as-you-go was settled once and for all on an equitable basis in order that Congress may tackle the bigger problem of raising the $16,000,000,000 of additional revenue requested by President Roosevelt in his budget message. With net corporation profits after all deductions running more than 60 percent higher than in 1939 it requires no financial wizard to determine where a large part of that increased revenue ought to come from.

J. R. WILSON.

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MAIL ORDER CAMPAIGN

A postscript on the Book-of-the-Month Club as a champion of the "free press." Some reviews of "The Fifth Seal." A question about "power" and "responsibility."

PERHAPS even more offensive than the Book-of-the-Month Club's choice of Mark Aldanov's *The Fifth Seal* has been its scurrilous campaign against those who questioned the wisdom of the choice. With columns of cooperation from Hearst, Roy Howard, and the New York *Times*, the book club tried to confuse issues and distort motives. Posing as the abused champion of a free press, the last bulwark of liberty, it sought to create an atmosphere of hysteria: "Reds Plot to Burn Books." Denying any anti-Soviet bias, it spoke of "gremlins in the Kremlin" and a "tempest in a samovar." The smear campaign amply confirmed the suspicion that something besides literary considerations had led to the unearthing and large scale publicizing at this moment of a seven-year-old novel by a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union.

What are the facts that the Book-of-the-Month Club has attempted to obscure?

First, as to the character and merit of the book itself. The book club has denied that *The Fifth Seal* is anti-Soviet; it has claimed that the novel is a literary masterpiece comparable to Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy; it has asserted that the novel will in no way hurt the cause of victory. On all three counts NEW MASSES has had its say. What do others think?

Sterling North of the Chicago *Daily News* and the New York *Post* writes: "This is a cheap piece of political propaganda by a second rate novelist . . . a dreary and cynical piece of Red-baiting . . . it will bolster immeasurably the hand of Martin Dies and his confederates. . . . I was nauseated by it. . . . It appears at a moment when Soviet-American relations are delicate, the defeat of Adolf Hitler hangs in the balance and the life or death of some hundreds of thousands of American boys depends upon Russia staying in the war."

Irving Hoffman of the *Hollywood Reporter:* "*The Fifth Seal* . . . should provide a nice, solid wedge between the United States and the USSR. It's so violently anti-Soviet it rates a blurb from Goebbels."

Harry Hansen of the New York *World-Telegram:* "The club either thought the book highly important or unusually obtuse. I decided it must be the latter."

Lewis Gannett of the New York *Herald Tribune:* "To compare it with Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy seems to me absurd. . . . Its philosophy is consistently anti-revolutionary and occasionally anti-democratic. . . . If the judges read and worked over the statement that '*The Fifth Seal* was no more anti-Soviet than the *Pickwick Papers* is anti-English,' I can only say that my respect for their perspicacity must have been exaggerated."

Rose Feld of the New York *Herald Tribune Sunday Review:* "*The Fifth Seal* will make a more forceful impression on them [i.e., the Soviet people] as an antagonistic political document than as a work of creative fiction."

Max Lerner of *PM:* ". . . an execrably poor choice. . . . I had to struggle through the book, forcing myself to finish it—and I am generally a pushover for a good novel . . . it bewilders, befuddles, and besmirches. . . . Its effect on our more literate soldiers: It might, of course, come under the head of cruel and unusual punishment. *But it would be certain to leave them bewildered, wondering what the war was all about if everything was as futile as this book made it.*" (My italics, S.S.)

Any fair-minded survey will show that there is a strong current of agreement among many reviewers that (1) *The Fifth Seal* is anti-Soviet, (2) its literary merit is highly dubious, even under the most favorable interpretation, (3) its effect is to evoke cynicism, defeatism, confusion, disunity at a time when these are clearly weapons in the hands of America's enemies.

"Brana Kusminer, Kalinendorf," from the exhibit "Life in the Soviet Union," paintings by Frank Horowitz. The show, which is traveling the country, will be on display at the Mattatuck Historical Society, Waterbury, Conn., during May.

THE Book-of-the-Month Club's campaign of vilification was intended to discredit *in advance* any honest conclusions to this effect. It tried to create an impression that any unfavorable reaction to its choice was the creature of a "pressure group" manipulated by the Reds. As Sterling North observes: "The Book-of-the-Month Club is attempting to make it appear that any unfavorable review of this book is Communist-inspired—persumably from the pen of men who have not read the book." In short, the book club not only used the classical technique of Red-baiting, it was motivated by the classical purposes of Red-baiting. It tried to advance its own special interests by browbeating critics. It evaded real issues by name-calling. It attacked the "book-burners" in a spirit not wholly dissimilar to that in which the Nazis once attacked the "Reichstag-burners."

For the most disgraceful lie that the book club tried to palm off as truth was the accusation that the critics of its May selection were out to "suppress" the publishing industry. The fact is that the Book-of-the-Month Club did not publish *The Fifth Seal*. The book was published by Scribner and Co., and so far as I am aware Scribner and Co. has made no charge that anyone was trying to infringe upon its legal rights of publication. Protests against the book were directed not to Scribner and Co., but to the Book-of-the-Month Club. And these protests called neither in words nor in spirit for a "book-burning." Those that I have seen urged the book club judges to reconsider their decision to confer enormous prestige and an automatic sale of hundreds of thousands on a book which, as so many reviewers have confirmed, is a highly dangerous weapon against our own side in this war. People convinced on the basis of substantial evidence that the Aldanov book is prejudicial to the national interest, at a time when their sons and brothers and husbands are giving their lives, have not only a legal right and a democratic privilege, but a moral duty to express their views to the Book-of-the-Month Club.

WHAT is this club that pretends to be the weak vessel of the free spirit? In its issue of March 15, 1943, *Time* accurately describes the Book-of-the-Month

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Club as a "Mail-Order House." The four largest customers of the US Post Office are: (1) the government itself, (2) Sears, Roebuck, (3) Montgomery Ward, (4) the Book-of-the-Month Club. Its president, Harry Scherman, is known in the book trade as "the most powerful man in publishing." A former advertising man, Mr. Scherman has built up his big business with $8,500,000 of advertising; and, according to *Printers' Ink,* the publishers' trade paper, "Advertising is thus solely responsible for building and maintaining this business in a field in which it was deemed impossible to carry on a mail-order operation." According to *Time, "Of an estimated $100,000,000 worth of trade books sold in 1942, Book-of-the-Month distributed $23,000,000 worth."* (My italics.) The club now has 575,000 members. Its choice of a book equals an average jackpot of $75,000 for author and publisher, not to mention increased sales in bookstores.

In the trade-book industry, which is relatively small and insecure, this jackpot threatens to become the be-all and end-all of publishers who are forced to be far more conscious of the Book Club than they would be of a Literary Academy. And this jackpot is presumably conferred by four very fallible human beings, the judges William Allen White, Dorothy Fisher, Henry Seidel Canby, and Christopher Morley. When they give their okay, the distribution machinery of *more than one-fifth* of America's trade books goes into operation. This Editorial Board, says *Printers' Ink,* "in a way is a consumer jury that passes on the quality of merchandise." In the past it has sometimes picked good books; it also picked counterfeit merchandise like the Gestapo-begotten *Out of the Night* by Jan Valtin.

My purpose at the moment is not to inquire into the detailed record of the book club and its Book-of-the-Month Club *News,* edited by Harry Scherman. The record is very unpleasant and it will receive separate treatment in these pages. What I do wish to stress is the enormous power of this mail-order house which has raised the "book-burning" issue. And I want to stress this power because I have a question to address to Max Lerner, Lewis Gannett, and other writers who have called "A plague on both their houses"—a plague, that is, on both the book club and those who urged the book club to reconsider its decision in the Aldanov matter.

MR. LERNER says that it is "stupid" to apply a "pressure-group campaign to the realm of literature." He admits that the book club "is an instrument for mail-order book merchandising." He believes, as we have seen, that the effect of *The Fifth Seal* on our troops might well be demoralizing. He feels that the book belittles "any sort of organized effort to better men's lives and guide their destinies." And yet, repeating the word with him, it is "stupid" to protest its selection by the club.

What does Mr. Lerner propose? He has in the past told liberals that they must get tough if they are to defeat reaction in this country. He is all for combining action with ideas. What then is one to do on this particular occasion—for even the global issues of our day present themselves only through particular occasions which test our convictions and our strength. On this occasion Mr. Lerner develops an interesting thesis. Power, he says, involves responsibility. The Book - of - the - Month Club is powerful. Therefore it should be responsible.

This is a neat syllogism. But as Mr. Lerner himself seems to believe, this powerful mail-order business acted *irresponsibly.* Many people who had read the book before April 19—including Mr. Lerner—knew that the club was acting irresponsibly. Some of them acted; Mr. Lerner, dismissing appeals for his support as "stupid," preferred to wait until it was too late—for it sometimes really is later than you think—until, in short, 575,000 Book Club members had been drenched with propaganda for the book. And after the act of irresponsibility, Mr. Lerner cautions Harry Scherman that power involves responsibility. This is not being "tough," as I understand Mr. Lerner's conception of the word; it is being soft.

Or does Max Lerner believe John Chamberlain's mumblings about "the free competition of ideas"—fighting it out in the "market-place"—no "choking of ideas at the source"? Free competition! The ancient cry of Standard Oil, du Pont, Ford. The hypocritical cackle of Harry Scherman. I write a letter to the Book-of-the-Month Club, and I am burning the books. The Book-of-the-Month Club gets thousands of dollars of unpaid space in the press to call me a tool of a foreign government, and that is free speech.

The "plague on both your houses" line of Lewis Gannett and Max Lerner strikes me as a dangerous evasion of intellectual responsibility. If a man says that he believes a book will demoralize people in the fight against fascism, in the fight for American survival, he has a clear duty to voice his objection as quickly and as effectively as he knows how. And if he believes some methods are less effective than others, then he has a clear duty to publicize the methods he thinks best. Red-baiting on one's own account will not answer Red-baiting on the enemy's account. Plaguing both houses does not exempt one from examining one's own barracks for disease germs. Either we fight courageously and honestly for what we believe, at every moment and on every issue, or we surrender to those who threaten our democratic cause.

For if it is true that "power involves responsibility" then it is also true that "responsibility involves power." A responsible, principled, deeply felt idea demands some kind of action to give reality to the idea. I address one question with utter sincerity to Max Lerner, whose insight into many problems I deeply respect. How, Lerner, do you propose that a book like *The Fifth Seal* be protested by people like yourself who believe that "it would be certain to leave" our soldiers "wondering what the war was all about if everything was as futile as this book made it"; how could your opinion be made to count in time to do some good against a mail-order house that spends $8,500,000 on advertising?

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Revolutionary History

MUTINY IN JANUARY, *by Carl Van Doren. Viking. $3.50.*

IN ONE of the greatest—and most neglected—public speeches of the war, President Roosevelt commemorated Washington's Birthday this year with a glowing tribute to the steadfastness and fortitude of the Revolutionary patriots, and called upon us to stand firm as they did against tremendous odds, domestic as well as foreign. The odds, indeed, were so great that even then not all patriots were able to "take it," just as today some weak sisters have fallen by the wayside, and in fact a series of minor mutinies took place in the Revolutionary army from 1780-83. Mr. Van Doren's new book records the history of these uprisings, giving particular attention to that of January 1781, among Pennsylvania soldiers quartered at Morristown, N. J., where today the Morristown National Park offers memories to the tourist.

At Valley Forge back in the winter of 1777-78, the route which the troops had trod "could be traced on the snow by blood that oozed from bare, frost-bitten feet," as the historian John Fiske wrote. Van Doren quotes Washington as saying that "Most armies would have mutinied and dispersed under such treatment. He could not 'enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity' of his soldiers who held out."

But conditions were even worse at Morristown three years later. General Wayne (not yet "Mad") wrote of the army's "distressed condition," which "beggars all description. For God's sake send . . . uniforms, overalls, blankets." Van Doren describes the setting:

"The hungry, shivering soldiers had heard of civilians living luxuriously at Philadelphia, in fine houses, with warm clothes, delicious food, all sorts of wines and spirits, and money to spend. They had heard of extravagance and peculation. Ac-

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customed as they were to hard work and plain fare, they would not have grumbled too much at occasional shortages such as the whole country had to endure. But, no matter how patriotic the soldiers were, they could not live on patriotism. They must have food and clothing, as well as arms, if they were to fight."

Adding fuel to the fire was the abysmally bad monetary situation. Currency issued by the Continental Congress had fallen to a 75:1 specie ratio ("not worth a Continental"), which meant that a soldier's paper pay for a whole year—*when and if he received it*—was worth a dollar in silver. Meanwhile the lack of coordination, the back-biting conflicts and divisions such as President Roosevelt reminded us of in his Washington's Birthday speech, were advancing apace on the military and civilian fronts. In words unusually instructive for our time, General Washington had written that: "We have no system, and seem determined not to profit by experience. We are, during the winter, dreaming of independence and peace, without using the means to become so. In the spring, when our recruits should be with the Army and in training, we have just discovered the necessity of calling for them. And by the fall, after a distressed and inglorious campaign for want of them, we begin to get a few men in just time to eat our provisions and consume our stores without rendering any service. Thus it is, one year rolls over another, and without some change we are hastening to our ruin."

These conditions seemed to press with special heaviness upon the troops from Pennsylvania. These men had come from a state, as Van Doren puts it, where "there were many conservatives who, while not outwardly loyal to the former British government, were at least not devoted to the new American administration," and therefore not too eager to support their soldiers. Besides, many of the Pennsylvania troops had long ago enlisted under a three-year agreement, and now wanted the discharges which were due them so that they could reenlist and get the cash bounty then being offered (but not always paid) to volunteers. And so grievance piled upon grievance until the men rose up, defied their officers, proceeded to march to Philadelphia to enforce their demands for improvement, and finally yielded to compromise before they got there.

ALL this and more is in *Mutiny in January*. Van Doren does not ignore the general historical setting, but his book is frankly a monograph, which goes into doctoral detail on the most minute aspects of the mutiny, supplemented by briefer accounts of earlier and later mutinies. It is a sober and conscientious work, of careful and documented scholarship, which it would be difficult to criticize unfavorably. But it is surely no reflection on Mr. Van Doren's established position as a writer whose work is characterized by well rounded and honest literary and historical versatility, to point out that this book, unlike his more important *Benjamin Franklin* and *Secret History of the American Revolution*, is by the specialized nature of its subject matter and the painstaking nature of its treatment a work of distinctly limited popular appeal. On the other hand, the OWI would be well advised to make use of some of Van Doren's material to emphasize the importance of public backing for the boys in uniform, to stress how essential bond buying and the USO and Red Cross —and a democratic tax system—are to the continued existence of a good fighting force, and how destructive to fighting morale are the civil and military delays, disunities, and weaknesses of which Washington wrote. As Van Doren puts it in assessing blame for the mutiny, "The citizens at large should have been blamed because they would not act. But the insurgent soldiers were blamed because they did."

Certain aspects of the story take on special significance. It is noteworthy that though the Morristown mutiny took place at the time of Benedict Arnold's treachery, and though the British—with their headquarters in nearby New York and their spies and "emissaries" who moved with surprising ease across the lines—repeatedly brought seductive offers both before and during the mutiny, the mutineers steadfastly and from the outset made clear that they would hang anyone in their midst who went over to the enemy, and stressed their continued loyalty to the Revolutionary cause. In contrast to the behind-the-scenes shennanigans of some persons high in civilian and military life (the Conway cabalists, the Arnold-minded snobs, the business-as-usual traders-with-the-enemy, the politics-as-usual crew in Philadelphia, the I-hate-George-Washington brigade), the patriotism of the mutineers was clear. Like misguided workers engaging in an occasional minor strike today, the methods were ill advised but the grievances exceedingly pressing and the provocation genuine. It is to the credit of Washington and his sub-commanders that throughout the mutiny, despite some shoot-'em-down advice from hotheads, they acted with a rare combination of dignity, principle, and firmness on the one hand, and understanding, sympathy, and conciliation on the other. The mutineers similarly, despite the hard-liquor hill-country backwoods origin of many of them, behaved on the whole with surprising discipline in an age of turbulence, and were unusually well regarded for their behavior by the populace past whose homes and fields they marched. Furthermore they stood together with a combination of unity and democratic expression which would have done credit to many a more permanent organization. As Lafayette said of them, "Everything is done through committees."

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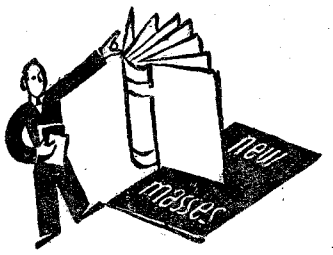

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Such, indeed, were the democratic concomitants of even the negative aspects of a people's war.

INGRAM BANDER.

Too Dormant

RUNNING TO PARADISE, *by John Lodwick. Dodd, Mead. $2.75.*

IF "RUNNING TO PARADISE" were a documentary film instead of a novel, you would probably say, as you left the movie house, that the direction and photography were pretty awful, but that the material itself saved the picture. The material, in this case, is the French defeat of some three years ago, as seen by a Foreign Legionnaire. John Lodwick, the author, fought in the Battle of Soissons and in the Second Battle of the Marne, and could hardly help noticing the more striking details of what went on about him. Thus, the criminal negligence of the High Command, the desperate desire of the common soldier to resist, the panic that sometimes overcame men who were without arms or leadership —all these are clear enough despite the author's pathetic political ignorance and even more pathetic prose. Mr. Lodwick has much to learn about characterization; among other things, he refers to all Jews as hook-nosed and to all Negroes as unintelligent—dangerous, inaccurate words which delight the Nazis.

It isn't that the author is vicious: he's just uninformed. He thinks of his hero (*i.e.*, himself) as a regular hellcat, always drinking and fighting and talking about women in a way that shows that *he* knows the difference between the sexes. The compulsion to make this British-type fraternity boy seem profound and thoughtful leads to a mass of dreary speculations and to such striking observations as that "there is a destiny that shapes our ends" and that "in the souls of all men a hyena of greed lies sleeping." *Something* lies sleeping—probably the hero, who is appropriately named Dormant. Dormant muddles through two great battles of a most hopelessly confused war, is put into a French prison camp for no good reason, is treated like a dog generally because he has fought the Germans and wishes to fight them again, and yet remains as unconscious as ever of the nature of the cruel dilemma forced upon France by Daladier and his fascist friends. He is ignorant enough to describe a Marxist character as a spreader of "chauvinistic" propaganda. Further evidence of this obtuseness is the author's constant striving for the kind of whimsical travel essay perfected by writers like Robert Louis Stevenson and Margaret Halsey. Nothing could be more grotesque, considering the grim subject matter. In fact, Mr. Lodwick seems to have learned nothing from his experiences. He boasts of having joined up mainly to get something to write about, and apparently he is telling the truth.

The best parts are the battle scenes and the pictures of the people whom Dormant meets while escaping. There are good descriptions of reactionary officialdom and of the mechanics of Nazi occupation. These passages, which present men in desperate combat and which describe a disorganized and terror-stricken France, give *Running to Paradise* its unique documentary significance.

MICHAEL ROBERTS.

Modern Medicos

MIRACLES OF MILITARY MEDICINE, *by Albert Q. Maisel. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.75.*

IN THE war against Hitlerism, medical science has produced many "miracles," while the Hitler forces have contributed little, if anything, to the relief of the wounded and the dying. This is only natural, since the cause of the people is on the side of life, that of reaction on the side of death.

The struggle of the Spanish republic against fascism brought the American, Barsky; the Frenchman D'Harcourt, and the New Zealander Jolly to the battlefields of Madrid and Guadalajara. Mr. Maisel tells how these men, under the able guidance of Catalonia's chief surgeon, Jose Trueta, developed the closed plaster cast method for the immobilization of compound fractures. It was a radical departure from previous practice in that it employed no drainage, dressing, or antiseptic irrigation. In the last war eighty to ninety percent of such wounds resulted in infection by hemolytic streptococci and high mortality rates. The work of this international medical corps has become the bible for United Nations doctors and Jolly's book *Field Surgery in Total War*, a summation of the Spanish experiences, is a best seller at the American Medical Corps School.

In 1938 our Soviet ally routed the Japanese after the warlords' challenge at Lake Hassan—and Red Army doctors gave the world a new technique for the rapid anesthetization of large areas of the body. Professor Vishnevsky's procedure or "creeping infiltration technique" eliminates the need for complicated equipment at the front and reduces postoperative shock. In 1939 Mannerheim and his colleagues threatened Leningrad. After 106 days of fighting, the danger to the city was removed and medical science of the Soviet Union had produced another "miracle." Establishing base hospitals close to the front, and taking every last advantage of transport and medical specialization, the Russian doctors reduced thoracic surgery deaths from seventy percent in the last war to only twenty-five percent.

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front was a very great obstacle until 1935, when Soviet doctors developed the blood bank from cadaver blood. The Canadian Dr. Norman Bethune proved the Russian experiments practical during the Spanish fight against Franco and his Italian and Nazi legions. American doctors, combining the Russian and Spanish experiences with those of the Austrian Landsteiner—who developed the four blood types—established new medical records at Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Maisel tells of hundreds of new developments and inventions—like the ambulance with trap-door bottoms, used by the amazing Russian armies. This ambulance drives into the battle, drops its trap-doors, and the doctor lifts the wounded into the truck. No Russian wounded have suffered from frost-bite because they have chemical heating pads in which heat is liberated by snow. The Americans also have made their contributions—for example, the amphibious sea jeep, which climbs hills, and can bring wounded out to a hospital ship anchored off shore. These are only small details in a book that pays impressive tribute to the ingenuity and courage of fighting medicos of the United Nations.

JAMES KNIGHT.

Pre-Civil War Days

THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN 1860, *by Edgar W. Martin. University of Chicago Press. $4.50.*

DR. MARTIN'S orderly and sober presentation of the results of his very considerable researches results in a distinctly valuable book. Errors are exceedingly rare—the American Colonization Society was founded in 1816, not 1817, and its inclusion within a chapter devoted to charitable endeavors indicates a misinterpretation of the organization's function; and draping quotation marks around the words gentlemen and ladies when applying them to Negroes demonstrates bad taste, at least.

The book is unique in its exhaustive treatment of a subject that has been too little investigated; namely, exactly what did people, of all groups, eat, wear, read, enjoy, produce, how did they travel, communicate, what charitable and governmental aids existed? Dr. Martin's work provides the available answers, and his investigations are so conscientious that he does not hesitate to express the numerous doubts and uncertainties, and to indicate the voids that must face a historical statistician of American pre-Civil War days. The book's value is further enhanced by an appendix filled with excellent tables on such vital matters as wage and price levels, length of the working day, and standards of living. A bibliography, however, might well have been included.

The work should be known to, and within easy reach of, every historian.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

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JOURNEY INTO TRUTH

"Mission to Moscow" dramatically records the long Soviet fight for peace and collective security, Russian heroism and wisdom. . . . The crimes of the Trotskyites revealed by the treason trials.

IN THE last few months Hollywood has reached a new level. At the end of 1942 the film industry looked pretty black; with few exceptions, silly escapist films vied with films of the people's war which were neither about the war nor about people. Faced with a clamorous popular demand for truth, truth about the war, truth about Russia, film executives decided to abandon nonsense-as-usual for a new kind of motion picture. Intelligent and progressive screen writers led the way, and the result is 1943's galaxy of war studies—surely the most vivid and thought-provoking analyses of a conflict that ever a popular entertainment medium offered the people.

Vanishing are the producers' pet formula plots, the tried and true man-hunts and girl-hunts. In their place we have the actual world, made luminous with meaning by the screen's magical powers of selection and emphasis. In consequence, we are finding it natural to discuss films with the same seriousness of approach one gives a fine novel; no longer is there any need to make allowances for an infant art. There was never any doubt that Hollywood had the finest screen technique in the world, and with the application of that fluid technique to worthy material Hollywood is now establishing itself as the leader of all film makers.

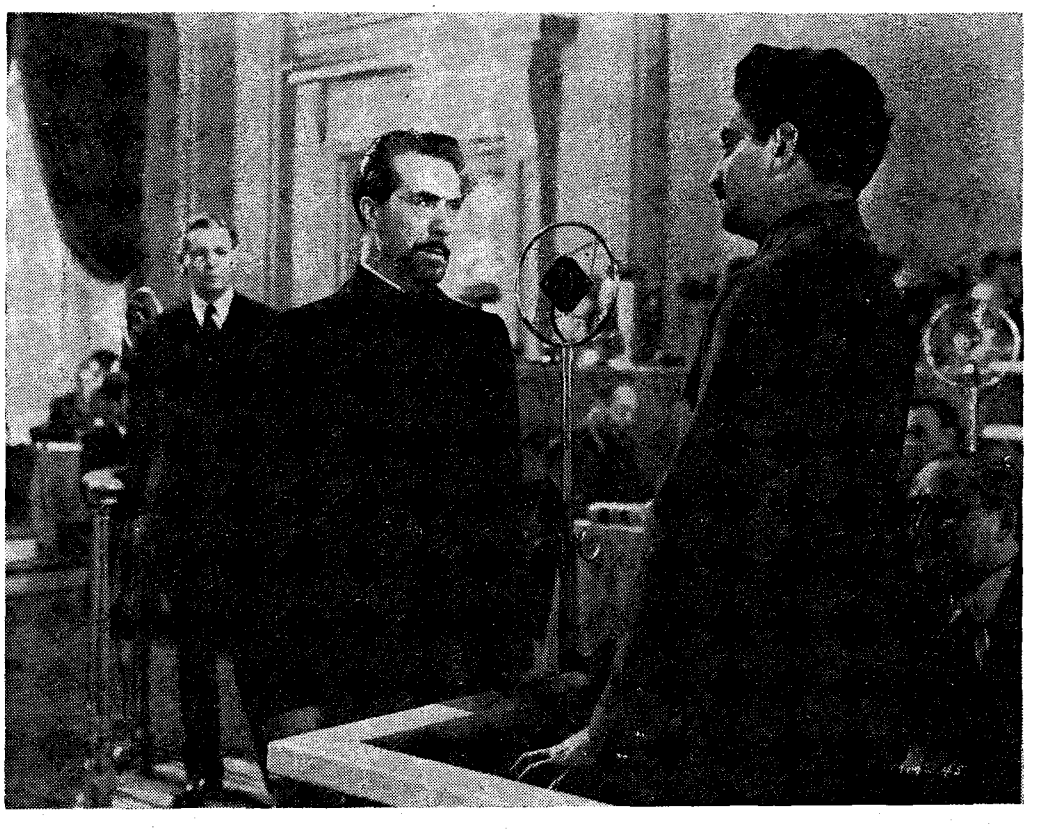
Mission to Moscow is just about a perfect film. More than that, it is a new kind of film for our country, a departure as significant as was Thucydides' first invention of the art of the objective historian. For this is history on the screen, history not sugar-coated with romance and false appeals to our sympathies, but reproduced as it happened with only brilliant selection and emphasis of details to make its meaning clear. What written texts need millions of words and months of reading to tell you, *Mission to Moscow* conveys with far greater vividness in less than two hours. We have seen history faked and fictionalized, as in the lying *Tennessee Johnson*, where real people were forced into an unreal mold. We have seen history emasculated by a phony reverence, obscured by a couple of romantic leads. We have seen historical truths expressed by fictitious characters (as in *Hangmen Also Die*) and very well too. Yet never before have we seen the thing itself on our screen, the genuine recreation of reality. *Mission to Moscow* gives us that.

In a prologue spoken by Ambassador Davies himself, the film's *raison d'etre* is made plain. This screen version of the ambassador's book represents an objective view of the Soviet Union, the view of an American capitalist who does not accept Communist theory, but who can see facts with clear eyes. Too often the American people have been shown Russia through the eyes of fascist Red-baiters, or the eyes blinded by prejudice of Colonel and Mrs. Blimp, or even the lying eyes of Trotskyites; and so the essential unity of the two nations has been undermined. Now the people of America want the truth, and must have it for victory. This film has been made to strip away the veils of illusion and lies.

Mission to Moscow reveals, on the one hand, the cynical and fruitless appeasing of Hitler by the Western democracies during the pre-war years; on the other hand, the Soviet Union's long battle with traitors within and the forces of fascism abroad. In Germany, Davies sees the marching men and the swastika banners and the ominous guns. He pleads for peace to the smooth, venomous mask of Ribbentrop. And he hears whispers. Something is to happen in Russia, something planned in Germany. That was 1936.

THEN, in Russia, he inspects the great new industries of socialism, and notices among the signs of strength and progress the curious little incidents: sand in the machines, collisions and fires which could be accident but are not. In Moscow he meets the leaders of the Russian government, working steadfastly for peace, while Litvinov pleads in vain at Geneva for help to Ethiopia. And he meets others—Tukhachevsky, Bukharin, Yagoda—who are so strangely friendly with the Japanese and German diplomats at diplomatic parties.

When these men are arrested and brought to trial the whole sordid story of Trotskyite intrigue comes out. Taken directly from the actual stenographic reports of the treason trials, the confessions of the unmasked conspirators sum up Hitler's



In the Moscow trials Prosecutor Vyshinsky draws from Yagoda an admission of his murderous activities in the Trotskyite conspiracy against the Soviet Union.

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technique of undermining from within by quislings, the technique since grown so horribly familiar to the world. There is no editorializing here, no parenthetical explanation of the involved relationships of the conspirators with Trotsky and Ribbentrop; the trial reports speak for themselves. And the picture is clear. These men were traitors, saboteurs, and murderers. They were detected in time; and Russia has had no quislings in this war.

In the face of such evidence, the attempt by Trotskyites and appeasers here to suppress this film might be pathetic were it not sinister. History is not mocked; however many books Hitler burns, however many epithets the *New Leader* sputters forth, the facts remain. Yet it would be small consolation to us for our grandchildren to know these facts, should we, who need them for our survival, be prevented from learning them. Those who organized and led the attack on *Mission to Moscow's* disclosures are as surely agents of fascism as was Trotsky when he accepted his German stipend and organized his network of sabotage and murder.

Mission to Moscow tells more of Russia than the discovery of its quislings—the splendor of the Red Army, the joyous people, the building of a new life, the struggle for collective security and peace. And of the reactionary statesmen of other countries it tells much; Chamberlain's umbrella, the sneer of Laval, and the viciously anti-Soviet Polish diplomat make a tragic combination with the arrogant Nazis and the smirking Japanese. The murder of republican Spain by fascism is not forgotten, or the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. The horrors of Japan's invasion of China are revealed in a Moscow hospital where victims of bombing, brought thousands of miles, are being treated by Russian doctors. Stalin and Kalinin, Molotov and Litvinov analyze the development of fascism and the inevitable war; Roosevelt and Davies, after the Nazi attack on Russia, campaign against the clamorous isolationists; and with Pearl Harbor America joins the United Nations in the prophesied struggle.

To organize this cross-section of world history into a coherent screen play must have been an appallingly complex task, yet Erskine Caldwell and Howard Koch, who adapted the Davies book, have produced a simple, clear, and dramatic narrative without one moment of confusion. This is great film writing; the establishing of a link between Bukharin and the Japanese, for instance, through one simple and harmless question exchanged at a party, is a touch of genius. Such small details combine with the coordination of great events to say everything as swiftly as possible. And the inspired writing has been aided by the unknown genius of the cutting room. However fine the script and the direction, cutting (or editing) can make or break a picture. The interweaving of newsreel shots from Moscow and Berlin with

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studio shots is so smooth in *Mission to Moscow* that one is never aware of the technical process involved, while transitions from one corner of the earth to another are managed without uncertainty or fuss. Cutters do not get screen credit, but they should.

The peculiarly arduous task of impersonating real people—and real people of great force of character, in most cases—has been brilliantly performed by the film's large cast. Walter Huston is miraculous as Ambassador Davies, Oscar Homolka as Litvinov. Such distinguished actors as Victor Francen, Gene Lockhart, Henry Daniell, and Roman Bohnen make Vyshinsky, Molotov, Ribbentrop and Krestinsky completely convincing, while Ann Harding, Frieda Inescort, and Maria Palmer are particularly good among the diplomatic womenfolk. Dudley Field Malone's famous resemblance to Churchill is little short of uncanny, and, what's more, he doesn't act too badly. In the role of Stalin, Manart Kippen is competent though, understandably, a little lacking in self-confidence. Captain Jack Young's familiar impersonation of Roosevelt is a bit out of key here, being strained and oratorical in what should be private conversations. It remains to speak of the film's music, ably organized by Max Steiner, which combines diverse elements such as Red Army songs, waltz tunes, and atmospheric orchestral effects into a harmonious score; and of its superb direction by Michael Curtiz. Yet individual contributions and details of acting seem to fade into insignificance when a film has so much to tell us. Indispensable and splendid as *Mission to Moscow's* technique is, the film's content is what really burns into our minds; for the film's content is the meaning of this war. JOY DAVIDMAN.

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Russians at War is full of memorable moments. In one of the liberated villages, the people come out of hiding to greet the Red Army, bringing with them precious cans of milk—milk hidden from the invader, milk for which the inhabitants suffer and die rather than surrender it, for to feed the beast is to strengthen him. They give their whole supply to the Red soldier, eagerly watch him drink, laugh and shake hands, and then resolutely begin to clear away the debris of their wrecked homes. In another scene the collective farmers of a liberated kolkhoz, now mostly women, waste no time in restoring their land to production. While the guns are sounding close by, buried grain is brought from the depths of the forest; the army needs bread. In closeup, the camera shows the fingers of farmers caressing the golden grain. You realize with poignant clarity what the liberated land means to the Soviet people.

Everything for the armed forces, everything for victory, no sacrifice too great, no effort unworthy. Only a unified people could work so selflessly; only a people free of traitors, disrupters, and cynics could achieve this total mobilization of effort. *Russians at War* demonstrates this unity. The coordinated attacks of aviators, tankists, infantry, and guerrillas on a designated objective; the poet Marshak, reciting to a circle of soldiers; the oversubscription of a bond drive by soldiers, sailors, mechanics, children; the women performing herculean tasks in mills and factories; the squads of children collecting scrap; these and dozens of other activities make it plain that the Nazis can never win in Russia, and that a land front with this great and tireless people as our ally can quickly end Nazi power.

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22—Peter V. Cacchione Association. Second Annual Dance. Al Moss, Laura Duncan and others. St. George Hotel, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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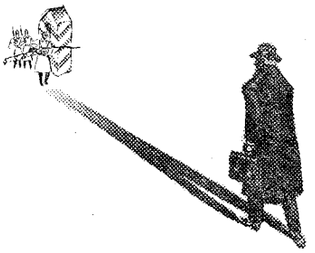

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